THE EVOLUTION OF THE COMMON SCHOOL

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THE EVOLUTION
OF
THE COMMON SCHOOL

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BY

EDWARD H. REISNER

PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, TEACHERS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
AUTHOR OF "NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION SINCE 1789" AND
"HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN EDUCATION"

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To

My Sons
Edward and David

PREFACE

This book has grown out of a course given by the author for several years in Teachers College, Columbia University. The course has been designed to supply students whose professional work lay in the field of elementary education with the beginnings of the story which they themselves are carrying on. This purpose called for the concentration of attention upon the particular aspects of education with which those students were specifically concerned, while at the same time it demanded that the factors connected with elementary education be viewed in a broad perspective. One important consideration aimed at in the above-mentioned course and in this book has been to show the meaning of popular education at various stages of its evolution in relation to the total social situation in which it has operated. Another purpose has been to show the changes in the objectives and practices of the common school in connection with changes in the conception of the individual and of his relationship to human society. Still another purpose which has entered into the preparation of this volume has been actually to carry the history of the common school down to the point where its story is nothing other than the outlook and the practices and the problems of the present day.

The author wishes to acknowledge the kindness of A. & C. Black, London, for permission to quote extensively from M. W. Keatinge's *The Great Didactic*, and of E. P. Dutton & Company, New York, for permission to quote at considerable length from Miss Barbara Foxley's admirable translation of Rousseau's *Émile*, which is one of the volumes of the *Everyman's Library*. The author is indebted also to Mr. George A. Plimpton for permission to reproduce certain pages of a copy of the *New England Primer* which is in his possession. Other borrowings are acknowledged in the text.

Miss Frances Marguerite Clark has been of great assistance in the preparation of this volume, both in the selection of illustrations and in reading the manuscript. I am also under deep obligation to my wife, Elizabeth Johnson Reisner, for counsel and assistance.

EDWARD H. REISNER.

NEW YORK CITY
May 15, 1930.

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THE EVOLUTION
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CHAPTER I

VERNACULAR SCHOOLS IN MEDIEVAL TOWNS

The Vernacular Compared with the Latin School. — The common school as it is considered in this book had its origin in the late Middle Ages, that is to say, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century of the Christian era. Perhaps this statement calls for some explanation, because it is very well known that the Greeks and Romans had a richly developed civilization with schools of all grades. The Greeks had an elementary school taught by the *grammatistes,* and the Romans had the same institution, the teacher of which took either the Greek name or the Latin *litterator*. In these schools the principal objective was the teaching of the language — giving the child the ability to read and to write. The school received children at a tender age and held them until they were prepared to do the work of the grammar school, which was the next higher grade of instruction. Certainly then there was an elementary school among the Greeks and Romans.

It must be said further, that the classical tradition of learning was never lost in Europe even after the total eclipse of the Roman Empire and the almost complete disappearance of Roman civilization in the West. In monasteries and cathedrals, over a period of seven or eight hundred years after the fall of Rome, schools were maintained that followed as closely as possible under the circumstances the traditional work of the ancient grammar school. To do that work, which was of secondary grade, the boys had to be taught to read and write; in other words, there had to be an elementary school where the first stages of learning the Latin language could be taught. It may be said, then, that never in all the time between the earliest origin of elementary instruction in Greece — far back in the seventh century B.C. — down to the close of the Middle Ages, had there failed to be in Western Europe an elementary school. If this is the case, why say that the common school had its origin in the late Middle Ages?

The reason for such a statement is that the common school as we know it is the direct descendant of an institution which taught the vernacular language, or the language of the people. It was not at all a part of the system of Latin education, but something separate from that grade of education and regarded as distinctly inferior to it. If in the fourteenth century a boy wished to become a priest, he had to learn Latin; for the Bible was in Latin, not yet having been translated into the languages of the peoples who lived in Europe. The ritual of the Church was also in Latin, as were all commentaries on the Bible and works on theology. If a boy wished to become a lawyer, he had to learn Latin, because all the law books were written in that language, all instruction in law given in the universities was in Latin, all wills and legal documents were written in Latin. So if he wanted to become a lawyer, there was no other way but through the Latin school. Even if a boy wished to prepare himself to be a clerk in a big business, or the manager of a great estate, or a minor official in the church, or a constable, or an accountant in the king's treasury — in short if he wished to prepare for what we might call any "white-collar" job — he had to go to the Latin school and learn to read and write with passable fluency and accuracy in that language. For Latin was the language all over Europe of the church, of university instruction, of scholarly writing, of legal procedure, and even of important business and official documents.

If the boy had to learn Latin, of course he had to *begin* to learn Latin. He had to start with the *elements*, and there had to be a school in which he could learn the elements. In other words, as long as the tradition of Latin education existed, which made the mastery of Latin the first objective of study, there was provided elementary instruction in that tongue as a preparation for more advanced Latin studies. But again let it be said that this book is not to be concerned with that form of elementary instruction, because the common school as we know it is not descended from the Latin elementary school at all.

Just what, then, was this school which must be regarded as the distant forbear of the modern common school? The answer is not simple, because in order to understand just what this school was and the social service which it was called upon to perform one ought to have in mind something of the organization of the society which called it forth. But in order not to delay giving at least a partial answer, let us say that the school in which the modern common school had its origin taught the vernacular languages instead of the classical; it was attended by common folk who did not aspire to professional careers; and it was in no sense related to, or preparatory to, the schools in which Latin was taught. If one is to understand this school at all, he must put out of his mind the thought that it was the first section of an educational ladder which reached from the A-B-C's to the university, because it gave just a rudimentary education in the home-town language and led nowhere in particular.

Let us discover just what position in European society was held by those folks who found some practical utility in being able to read and write in the vernacular and to satisfy whose needs the vernacular elementary schools came into existence.

European Society in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. — It may seem a long way around, in an effort to get a richer understanding of the American elementary school of today, to go back to observe the organization of European society in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but there is good reason for so doing. The original character of the vernacular schools was conditioned by the place in society of the children who attended those schools, and the social organization of that time has continued to influence the nature of the common schools almost down to the present in our own country and, it is safe to say, quite down to the present in the countries of Europe.

When European society began to take form again after the barbarian invasions had overthrown the Empire of Rome, there were two social classes that stood out as the most important. They were the nobility and the higher clergy.[1] The nobility were the warrior class and they were supported by the labors of common people who worked in the fields and about the manor house, raising farm crops and farm animals, threshing and grinding grain, baking bread, making wine and beer, and doing all the manual work necessary for subsistence on and by the soil. In the course of time a very elaborate social system, called the feudal system, developed as a means of providing military forces supported by the use of land. In this system, the nobility, or warriors, were supported and freed for military service, while the common people known as serfs and villeins were tied down to the land with little return for their labors beyond a meager living. The nobles were the important folk in society, while the serfs and villeins were social nobodies, who passed with the land on a change of tenure just as so many plows or cattle might be transferred to the new holder.

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[1] For a more extended discussion of this topic see E. H. Reisner, *Historical Foundations of Modern Education*, Chapter IX.

The second class of importance in the early Middle Ages included the members of the higher clergy — the bishops and the archbishops of the church and the abbots, who were the heads of monasteries. These dignitaries were influential, in the first place, because of the power they wielded as great officials of the church and the large revenues that came to them in their clerical capacities. But they were also important because they administered great areas of land which at one time and another had been given to the church or to monasteries. This land supported fighting men just as did any other land at the time, and these warriors, or nobles, were obligated by ties of feudal loyalty to the church dignitary who had rights over the land which supported them. Accordingly, the higher clergy were important feudal personages, commanding as they did both spiritual powers, immense wealth, and the service of fighting men. And on these lands held by the church were to be found serfs and villeins toiling insignificantly and hopelessly for their noble lords and masters.

Up to about the year 1100, the social organization described above continued with little change. City and town life had decayed in what had been the civilized parts of Europe under the rule of Rome, so that all over Europe there were practically no towns. There was little commerce and trade. There was little wealth in money. Even the most favored classes of society were largely dependent upon what could be raised or made upon the home manor for their sustenance and their comforts.

The Rise of Cities and the Emergence of the Third Estate. — Toward the end of the eleventh century, however, one of the most important developments of Western history began to take shape. Commerce began to revive. Towns and cities sprang up, in which buying and selling were carried on and in which wares were manufactured for sale. Wealth in money and capital goods began to be created. And what is especially significant in this story, a new social class began to make its appearance quite distinct from the nobility and the clergy, and quite above the serfs and villeins who continued to labor in the fields and about the manor house.

The persons who entered into this revival of trade and the development of cities came from out of the submerged classes of feudal society. In one way and another they found their way out of the rural life of semibondage and into the freer life of the cities. How these ex-serfs and villeins developed trade and the arts and became wealthy; how they bought privileges from nobles and high churchmen and kings; how they built up the walls of their cities, organized their city governments, managed their business, — all such concerns may be followed out in other connections. For us the significant fact is that this new class came into existence, increased in numbers and wealth, and finally came to be recognized along with the nobility and the higher clergy as a third class in European society — the third estate, the middle class, the burghers, or the *bourgeoisie.* Perhaps we may take the beginning of the fourteenth century as the time when the economic and political importance of these townsmen was recognized, for in 1295 representatives of English towns were summoned to Parliament by Edward III, king of England, and in 1302 the trusty burghers of France were called to sit in the Estates General by King Philip Augustus.

If the business in these new towns and cities began by being local and simple, it was not long before business became international in scope and intricate in detail. Soon letters, orders, bills, accounts, trade regulations, city ordinances — in short, all the paper work that was necessary in connection with big business and city administration — were called for. At first the lower ranks of churchmen, being the only members of society who were able to write, were called upon for such secretarial services as were needed. The language first used in business was Latin, certainly for the most part as late as 1300. However, as the use of Latin in business became more important, the burghers were unable to meet their needs through the services of ecclesiastics. They learned Latin for themselves, or had their sons learn it as part of their business equipment. To acquire this skill the boys went to Latin schools of the kind described above, where they learned to write business papers and to keep accounts in Latin.

During the thirteenth century, however, there is to be noted a decided shift away from the exclusive use of Latin for official documents and commercial business. Laws came to be written out in the vernacular, city ordinances were published in the vulgar tongue, and all kinds of business documents affecting local merchants came more and more to be written out in the language familiar to them through daily usage. In collections of national laws, royal proclamations, and state papers, the vernacular gained a place beside the Latin form, although during at least four centuries longer Latin continued to be the language of diplomatic correspondence, of university instruction, and of learned publication. For the uses of the burgher, however, in his business and civic life, the importance of Latin rapidly waned after the thirteenth century and that of the vernacular languages steadily increased. By the middle of the fourteenth century, by far the greater part of the city population engaged in manufacture and trade had little or no use for Latin, while they were involved in a business and social environment in which the ability to read and write their local language was of prime importance.

The Rise of the Vernaculars. — We soon shall see that the increasing importance of the vernacular tongues was responsible for the development of a new grade of education which is the lineal progenitor of the modern elementary school. Since this is the case, it seems to be in point to ask more definitely what these vernacular languages were and how they came to be.

In the southern part of Europe the language of the people who settled down upon the lands formerly comprised within the Roman Empire was largely influenced by the Latin. It was the spoken and written language of the superior civilization and in course of time came to be spoken in somewhat changed form by the barbarian invaders. Local differences gradually developed which put the speech of various groups farther and farther apart. These divergent forms of speech developed into Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French. Once they had become the medium of written communication and literary composition, a canon of good usage developed which tended to standardize these languages in the form in which we know them today. The many German dialects and the Dutch tongue developed in the same way through long usage, although these languages were not dependent on the basic Latin as were the Romance languages named above. English grew out of Anglo-Saxon, modified by Norman French, introduced at the time of the Norman conquest in 1066.

In the eleventh century the first creative literary impulse was felt in these languages when there grew up a collection of songs of war centering largely about the exploits of Charlemagne. This wave of literary invention was followed by the activities of the *troubadours* from southern France and the *trouvères* of northern France, who linked together metrical romances dealing with the chivalric and amorous adventures of bold knights and ladies fair. In Germany similar poet-minstrels arose, who sang the stories of the old gods and goddesses of Germany's barbarian antiquity. They also made their contribution to the songs of love and chivalry in the German tongue. The development of such a body of literary material was of first-class importance for the standardizing of the vernaculars, but as such it had little reference to the uses of the burgher class. It dealt largely with the actions and experiences of the nobility and reflected their attitudes and feelings. However, the burgher class had a part in the development of the vernaculars through the French tale of Reynard the Fox, who was described as participating in droll adventures, the point and spirit of which made their direct appeal to the town dweller and merchant. Companies of artisans also participated in dramatic performances called miracle or mystery plays, in which they recited lines and acted out pantomimes which had been prepared for the occasion. When all is said, however, the main use of the vernacular which the burghers found was in connection with the practical affairs of business and of city and commercial administration.

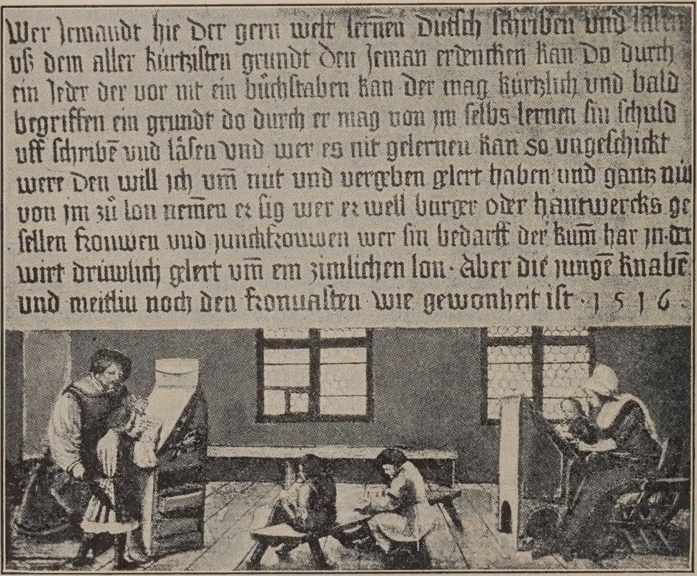
The Development of Social Lines among the Town Dwellers. — For the first two centuries or more after the revival of commerce and the growth of towns had begun, the city merchants and workers were concerned almost exclusively with trade and with money-making. The social inferiority which came from their servile origin clung to them through many generations. However, with the growth of their wealth, the increase in the amenities of life which they enjoyed, and the recognition of their importance in the state, the more prosperous of the burghers drew apart from the great mass of working men. The line became more clearly drawn between master and man. The masters of influential businesses were able to organize their power and pass it on to their descendants. They took over the government of the cities, crowding out the less important masters and the army of hired laborers. They sent their sons to the Latin schools and found places for them in the paternal businesses, or found favors at court or in high ecclesiastical quarters that took their sons out of the countinghouse and put them in line of promotion for a place in the king's service or for church livings. In course of time, these more wealthy and influential burghers became a part of the clientele of liberal or Latin education. In wealth and power, in their dress, their dwellings, their scale of living, their education, their feelings, they were the equal of the lesser nobility. The line between the great bourgeoisie and the lesser nobility finally disappeared entirely and the two social groups merged in the common classification of gentleman.

With this scaling upward of their wealth, their social position, and their educational needs, the higher portions of the middle class pass out of this narrative. They no longer had need for the elementary school, the story of which it is the purpose of this book to tell. However, their class pride, their economic and political power, their secure hold on the profits of common men's labor, are among the influential reasons for the neglect of the school of the common people until the close of the eighteenth century.

The less important employers of labor and the workmen, on the other hand, had no need for the Latin which was used in international business and as a pathway to official service in the church and the civil government. But they did have need for an ability to read the business notices that were being posted at the guild hall in the vernacular. They had need also for a medium in which to keep their own accounts as well as to get into communication with other local merchants. There must have been many business records and formulas, price marks, and so forth, which the merchant would wish to consign to some more efficient repository than his memory, and there existed then, as now, the occasions for writing letters of friendship.

That there was much use of writing in the later Middle Ages is proven by the fact that every public square saw some public scrivener set up for business, prepared to write business and love letters, prepare contracts or other papers, or to serve the public in any way he could through his command of the arts of writing and accounting. The inconvenience and sometimes embarrassment of having a public scrivener do one's writing must have been keenly felt, with the result that the public profession of letter writing and business accounting was soon changed for many individuals into a private accomplishment.

The Vernacular Elementary School. — There is overwhelming documentary evidence to prove that in towns and cities of Europe after about 1350 there had come into existence many schools devoted to giving instruction in reading and writing in the vernaculars. Generally the two arts were separately taught, since writing was regarded as a specialty which was taught in connection with business arithmetic and accounting by the guild of scriveners or " schreibers." Probably these schools were in the beginning set up by private parties wherever an



Wer Jemandt hie Der gern welt lernen Dütſch ſchriben und läſen
vß dem aller kürtziſten grundt den Jeman erdencken kan Do durch
ein Jeder der vor nit ein büchſtaben kan Der mag kürtzlich und bald
begriffen ein grundt do durch er mag von im ſelbs lernen ſin ſchuld
uff ſchribẽ und läſen und wer es nit gelernen kan ſo ungeſchickt
were Den will ich um̃ nüt und vergeben glert haben und gantz nüt
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wirt drüwlich glert um̃ ein zimlichen lon · aber die jungẽ knabẽ
und meitlin noch den fronvaſten wie gewonheit iſt · 1 5 1 6 ·

A SCHOOLMASTER'S ADVERTISEMENT

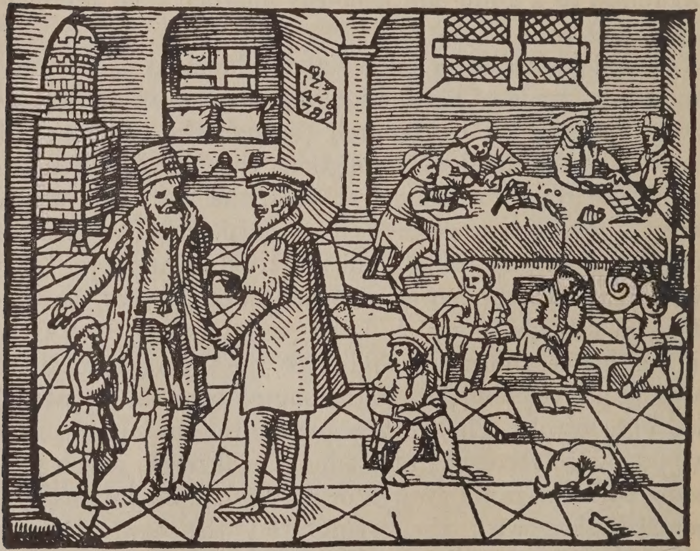
The following is a literal translation of the announcement, in a German dialect, shown above the picture: "Whoever would learn to write and read German in the very shortest way one can imagine, whereby anyone who before knows not a letter may in a short time understand a way by which he may of himself learn what is needful of writing and reading. And whoever cannot learn it being so unskilful, him will I teach for nothing and shall take from him no fee whatever. Be he burgher or apprentice, wife or maid, whosoever has need of it, come hither. He will be truly taught for a small fee. But the [school for] young boys and girls [will open] at Whitsuntide as usual." (Translation by Professor E. Bagster-Collins).

Illustration taken from H. Knackfuss, *Holbein*, Velhagen & Klasing, 1899.

opportunity of getting together a paying class presented itself. The teachers came from the ranks of minor city or church officials, from the numerous vagrant scholars of the time, or from among unfrocked monks and nuns who had received an education in some religious establishment. The teachers of writing and accounting were organized as a guild and jealously guarded their prerogatives.

Almost immediately upon the development of this new and lower grade of instruction the question of authorization was raised. The church through the bishops and their subordinates had throughout the Middle Ages enjoyed the right to conduct schools, the fees from which were among the ecclesiastical perquisites. The bishops through their subordinate officials tried to maintain their authority over the newer schools as well as over the traditional schools in which Latin was taught. However, in the thirteenth century and after, the town corporations were in active conflict with the church over the matter of school control. The church authorities in many cases were slow to recognize new educational needs which had come with the rapid growth of industrial and commercial communities, with the result that the town fathers attempted to establish such schools as they saw were needed in face of the ecclesiastical veto. This conflict had come about in the first instance over Latin schools, but when the vernacular schools came to be a desirable part of the educational supply, the town authorities carried the contest with the churchmen into this field as well. We are not so much concerned in this connection with the progress of this controversy as with pointing out the fact that normally the elementary schools were subject to authorization by either the church officials or the town council.

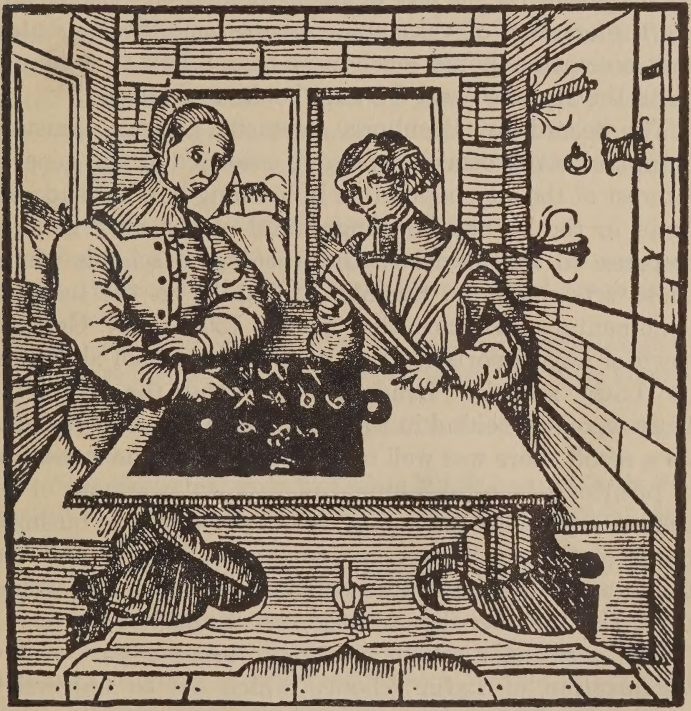
In spite, however, of the effort to bring all teachers under the control of some authority, many schools were taught without such authorization. They were taught in out-of-the-way places, for small fees, by almost anyone who had the barest command over the arts which he would convey to his pupils. Such dame schools, hedge schools, and *winkelschulen* (corner schools) continued in spite of official interdiction in German lands down to the close of the eighteenth century, while in England and our own country the right of any one, who thinks he can do so, to teach school for fees in a private way has never been seriously abridged.



INTERIOR OF A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY WRITING AND RECKONING SCHOOL

A woodcut from the collection of W. L. Schreiber, Potsdam; found in Emil Reicke, *Lehrer und Unterrichtswesen in der Deutschen Vergangenheit*, Eugen Diederichs Verlag in Jena, 1924.

As to what was taught in these schools and how instruction was carried on, there is little that may be said. One fact is certain — these schools were expected to limit their work to the vernacular language. A permit given by the church authorities to the town council of Brussels in 1320 to open five schools for boys and girls, each under a master or mistress, specified that " *die kleine dinge* (the elementary things) exclusive of Donat " should be taught. The *Donat*



ARITHMETIC MASTER AND PUPIL

Frontispiece in Johann Boschenstein, *Rechenbuchlein*, Augsburg, Oeglin, 1514. Taken from E. Reicke, *Lehrer und Unterrichtswesen in der Deutschen Vergangenheit*, Eugen Diederichs Verlag in Jena, 1924.

referred to was an elementary Latin grammar almost universally used for beginning Latin studies, so that we can know from the text of the official permit that no instruction in Latin in these schools was to be allowed. A similar document for the city of Brunswick dated 1420, covering the erection of vernacular schools, specifically stated that no master should teach more than " how to read and write the alphabet and German books and letters."[1]

The records of Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Amsterdam, and many other towns give evidence of the general interest of the city population in learning how to read and write in the vernacular tongue and of the very general response to this desire in the opening of schools where those arts might be taught. It is said on the basis of documentary evidence that before 1500 every German town of any importance had its German school alongside its Latin schools. London, Paris, and the towns of Italy were not behind in the same educational movement. As a result there was well under way, before the invention of printing, the establishment of vernacular schools of an elementary nature and suited to the personal and business needs of the small merchant and manufacturer and the thousands of employed tradesmen or craftsmen who would never rise into the class of employer or master.

The vernacular school was in no sense a part of the organization of Latin schools, which led to university studies, professional careers, and ecclesiastical or civil service. It was an educational pocket, leading nowhere, but serving the needs of many. It was for common folk, who were likely to remain common folk, but who found it useful and satisfying to be able to read and write in their home-town language, in which they were not troubled by rules of grammar and might spell words according to individual taste. The vernacular elementary school remained, however, a city institution until the invention of printing and the multiplication of books magnified a thousandfold the usefulness of the art of reading; and until the religious controversies of the Protestant Reformation provided new reasons for the general possession of the ability to read. Urged by these two great forces, the vernacular elementary school was to find its way into every crossroad hamlet and to follow the Bible into many homes.

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[1] See E. Nohle, " History of the German School System," in *Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1897–1898, I.*

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Which of the types of education mentioned in the foregoing chapter represents the beginning of the common school system as we know it today?

2. Why is it inaccurate to consider the elementary instruction given in Latin, from classical times down, as the original form of the present-day common school?

3. What classes of European society in the late Middle Ages found it useful to have a Latin education?

4. What divisions developed in the late Middle Ages within the city population? Of these divisions, which found little or no use for Latin education, and why?

5. What is meant by a vernacular language? When did the vernacular languages assume literary form? When did they come largely into use for civil administration and business purposes?

6. In what connection did the town dwellers in the late Middle Ages find a knowledge of reading and writing in the vernacular a useful asset? By what means were they able to get this knowledge?

7. What was the social motive for the acquisition of the ability to read and write in the vernacular language and for the development of vernacular schools? Does the same motive enter into our present-day provision of common schools? What additional social motives for the establishment of common schools operate at present over and above the motive or motives which operated in the Middle Ages?

8. The Protestant Reformation is said to have begun in 1516. From what you know, would you consider it accurate to say that the common vernacular school began with the Protestant Reformation?

REFERENCES

The student may with profit read the account of the topics covered in the foregoing chapter as given in S. C. PARKER, *The History of Modern Elementary Education*, Chapter II, Ginn.

An easily available account in English of the development of vernacular schools in Germany is to be found in E. NOHLE, "History of the German School System," found in the *Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1897–1898, I, 23–26.*

Chapter II

THE COMING OF THE PRINTED BOOK

This is to be a short chapter, but it introduces what is possibly the most important single factor connected with the rise of the common school, namely, the invention and spread of printing, which meant the multiplication and the cheapening of reading materials. When books were made by hand, as all books were made before the art of printing developed, they were expensive and few. For by far the most part they were in Latin and contained the materials that were useful for church and civil administration, and for the learned studies followed in Latin schools and in universities. In libraries and perchance in possession of some studiously inclined private person were to be found copies of some of the great Latin authors, such as Horace and Ovid and Virgil. There were also vernacular manuscripts of the literature of chivalry mentioned a few pages back (see p. 9 and f.) and of such works in the vernacular as Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, the *Sonnets* of Petrarch, and the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. But these books were expensive and hard to come by and not to be had by the great run of common folk. When, about the middle of the fifteenth century, which is to say about the year 1450, the art of printing from metal type was put into practice, it became possible to produce a hundred books for what had been the cost of three. This made it possible for persons of very moderate means to have a few books, or at least to have possession of what was universally regarded as the book of books, the Bible. Many city folk by that time had learned to read in the vernacular, as we have seen, and we may imagine their desire for something to read. By long odds the most desired book was the Bible, of which many vernacular translations appeared before the end of the fifteenth century. In the German language alone ten printed translations of the Bible had appeared before Martin Luther's began to appear in parts in 1516. Important vernacular works were in the same way made accessible to a great many readers, while translations and paraphrases of great classic works appeared in the vulgar tongues.

The influence of printing upon all education, high and low, was immediate and stupendous. It occurred at a time when the upper middle classes were increasing in numbers and wealth and when the nobility were deserting their lonesome castles and attaching themselves to the king's court and the king's service.[1] As a result the number of those seeking a higher and liberal education greatly increased, while the methods of instruction and the organization of schools were profoundly changed by the fact that whole works of classical authors could be studied by the school boy who could own those books himself. Much more attention was given in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to the Latin than to the vernacular schools, since the former served the influential and more wealthy classes of society and were engaged in the preparation of future professional men and officials. Also more is known about the secondary schools than is known about the vernacular schools for that period. The former were institutions of known history and management, while the greater part of the vernacular education was given by private agencies, in many cases unauthorized and unrecorded. But since vernacular schools were present in practically all towns before the invention of printing and since it was worth while for children to learn to read and write in the vernacular before the multiplication of books had taken place, there is good reason to believe that the elementary schools increased in numbers and that more children attended them when there was the additional incentive to learn to read in the availability of reading materials.

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[1] For a more extended account of this development see E. H. Reisner, *Historical Foundation of Modern Education,* Chapters XIV and XV.

The history of the elementary schools in the sixteenth century is complicated with the developments of the Protestant Reformation. It has been claimed that the elementary school was the child of the Protestant Reformation, since the religious changes introduced by the various branches of Protestantism made much of the private reading of Scripture by the members of the churches, which in turn implied the ability to read, and made the establishment of vernacular schools an important point of church policy. The writer does not feel that he has conducted researches sufficient to prove the point, but it seems likely from such evidence as is easily available that there was a large and growing body of teachers among the lower middle and working classes from 1450 to 1516. It is equally evident that during the same time the most eagerly sought book was the Bible. Indeed the only possible ground for the widespread success of the Reformation after 1516 was the fact that great numbers of common people were able to read and had through reading their Bibles been prepared for a sympathetic response to the call of Protestant leaders for a return to the simpler organization of faith and church administration as shown therein. The Protestant Reformation was an important factor in the development of the elementary school, as we shall see, but it is to be thought that, even if the Protestant Reformation had never taken place, the new availability of reading matter would have stimulated the development of vernacular elementary schools. We shall see in a later chapter that even in countries to which the Protestant motive for learning to read did not so strongly apply there were many teachers and students who busied themselves with the mother tongue. Certainly we should not, in contemplation of the changes in folk education introduced by the Reformation, lose sight of the tremendous importance of the fact that the sixteenth century saw a notable cheapening and multiplying of books, thus providing for many a powerful incentive to learn to read. Without printing, the elementary school would long have remained, as it began, a town institution serviceable mainly to the commercial classes in their business pursuits.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Would it be too much to say that the invention of printing is one of the most important influences that has affected education in all time? Name all the educational effects you can think of that have resulted from this art.

2. What kind of books were used in Europe before printing became common? How were these books made? Out of what materials?

3. Why were printed books less expensive than the kind previously in use?

4. What facilities for recreation exist today which people of the Middle Ages did not possess? What conditions created a demand for books when they became less expensive?

5. In what way did the widespread possession and reading of the Bible affect the Protestant Reformation? In what other ways was printing an asset of religious reform?

REFERENCES

A good account of the early history of the art of printing and its influence on the intellectual life is to be found in P. SMITH, *The Age of the Reformation*, pp. 8–10, 691–698.

The following books will prove useful to students interested in making special reports on the early methods of book production: D. C. McMURTRIE, *The Golden Book*, Pascal Covici, Chicago, 1927; W. D. ORCUTT, *Master Makers of the Book*, Doubleday Doran, 1928; J. C. OSWALD, *A History of Printing*, Appleton, 1928; G. H. PUTNAM, *Books and Their Makers during the Middle Ages*, Putnam, 1897 (two volumes).

Chapter III

TEACHING CHILDREN TO READ THE BIBLE: THE INFLUENCE OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION ON POPULAR EDUCATION

The Protestant Reformation. — In the sixteenth century there occurred a change in the religious life of Europe which had profound effects upon popular education. Before the second decade of that century all Christendom was a unit. The church universal recognized the Pope at Rome as its head and from the pope downward, through archbishops and bishops, its organization extended to include the priests of every parish of every country in Europe. A child was born into the church even as now he is born into citizenship in a national state. The church had its creed which all men had to accept. It had its ritual and its system of administration. From its members it exacted church attendance and required obedience to its authority, in consideration of which it guided otherwise doomed human beings, by means of baptism and confirmation, by means of the Lord's supper and the sanctification of the marriage bond, and finally by means of the last rites for the dying and prayers for the dead in purgatory, past the portals of death and into the life everlasting.

At different times before the sixteenth century there had been widespread revolts among Christians in Europe against the system of the church, but they had been largely unsuccessful, being put down forcefully by the might of church and state. In the sixteenth century, however, a revolt within the church took place which had two important allies for its purposes, namely, the printing press and the rising power and ambition of nation states. This revolt was destined to spread and gain power and finally to destroy the exclusive dominion of the universal church.

From the religious viewpoint the reform movement attacked many details of worship, administration, and belief which had taken form during the centuries following the composition of the works of the New Testament. Many thoughtful men in the sixteenth century felt that there were grave abuses in church administration and that there was much in the ritual and system of church belief and practice that was out of harmony with the gospel of Jesus and the ways of primitive Christians. Accordingly they proposed changes that were intended to take the church as a whole back in the direction of the simpler creed and administration of the early days of Christianity.

The leader of the reform movement in Germany and one of the greatest figures of the Reformation, Martin Luther, began his revolt from the church in 1516. His first positions were relatively moderate, but as he faced opposition from the church authorities he became more and more bold and uncompromising until he found himself excommunicated by the church and a social outlaw. He was protected by the Elector of Saxony in Wartburg Castle, where he made his translation of the Bible, which surpassed all previous German translations and was enthusiastically received and widely read. The cause of Luther almost immediately became a great political issue and very generally his side was taken by the large and the small states, the free cities, and the independent baronies, of northern Germany. The temporal rulers of these areas were anxious to get out from under the power of the pope and to manage religious affairs for themselves, while no small incentive to revolt was offered by the rich monasteries and other church properties which might be theirs for the taking. The result of long and bitter struggle was that in 1555 the leaders of the reform party and the allies of the pope agreed in the Treaty of Augsburg that each head of a political division in Germany could determine for himself and for his country whether the Lutheran or the Catholic religion should be followed. As a result of this treaty most of northern Germany was recognized as Lutheran, while southern Germany remained Catholic.

Civil Control of Education. — The elimination of the Catholic church from northern Germany had a great effect upon the administration of education in that region. Previous to that time, as we have seen above (see p. 13), the bishops of the church were the heads of the enterprise of education. Most of the schools had been conducted in church buildings and on religious foundations, and when many of these properties were confiscated by civil authorities, the resources of education were in large part destroyed. There was no guarantee that the new civil heads of the church in Germany would take over the responsibility for education which the Catholic church had exercised. The German leaders of religious reform, such as Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and Trotzendorf were fearful that the princes and town councils would allow education to fall to the ground. In a *Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of All Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools*, in 1524, Martin Luther spiritedly pleaded the cause of the schools and warmly enjoined upon the rulers of cities their obligation to support and foster the means of education. His first thought was undeniably for the provision of Latin schools for the production of leaders in church and state, but he put in a plea also for the maintenance of German schools to which both boys and girls might be sent for an hour or two a day, with little interruption to their home duties. In a *Sermon on the Duty of Sending Children to School* (1530), Luther reiterated his belief that the state had a right to compel school attendance. He said: "I hold it to be incumbent on those in authority to command their subjects to keep their children at school; for it is beyond doubt their duty to insure the permanence of the above-named offices and positions, so that preachers, jurists, curates, scribes, physicians, schoolmasters, and the like, may not fail among us; for we cannot do without them. If they have the right to command their subjects, the able-bodied among them, in time of war, to handle musket and pike, to mount the walls, or to do whatever else the exigency may require, with how much the more reason ought they to compel the people to keep their children at school."

The first important state to take over responsibility for education was Saxony, which issued a set of regulations providing for Latin schools in 1528. The first state which made definite provision for German schools in the official system was Württemberg, which did so for the first time in 1559. The other states followed this lead, so that, on paper at least, the Protestant German states enjoined the establishment of vernacular schools upon the local communities. Between legal injunction and actual performance there remained, however, a wide gap.

The Lutheran Elementary School. — The leaders of the Lutheran movement saw the necessity of establishing elementary schools in the rural villages, where none had previously existed, as well as the necessity of continuing and bringing under church supervision the vernacular schools which were already in operation in the larger centers of population. Every man and every woman, and every child, as well, had to be made conscious of the doctrines and the formulas of worship of the Lutheran church, and in order to accomplish that, it had to be made possible for them to read the Bible and the catechism. The new church ritual also stressed congregational singing and responses, for which the ability to read was necessary, or at least desirable. The reformers in their efforts to carry the ability to read to all the people made use of the church organization as the basis of school supply. The sexton, chorister, or some other minor official of the church was to be designated schoolmaster, but if there were no alternative, the pastor himself was to teach the children and hear them repeat their catechism. The authorization of private teachers, the appointment of teachers, and the supervision of schools were among the duties assigned to the church establishment.

The Lutheran interest, as we should expect, was strongly represented in the elementary schools which were established under the Reformation influence. The tone of the schools was dominantly religious and Lutheran. Their principal object was to ground the children in the Lutheran faith and to that end the materials of instruction were the Bible, church hymns, the catechism, and other devotional literature. Martin Luther himself prepared a little primer, the *Kindesbuchlein*, which is in large part a catechism designed to make the children familiar with the more important facts of the Bible and to impart to them the main points of Lutheran doctrine. With little change such religious materials as have just been named continued to be the subject matter of instruction in Lutheran elementary schools down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Did the Reformation Help or Harm Education? — It has long been a matter of controversy as to the net effect of the Lutheran Reformation on the establishment of schools for the people. On the one hand, there is a tendency to credit Germany with substantial beginnings of a system of folk education following immediately upon the great religious schism of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the position is aggressively taken that the Reformation influence in Germany did but little for the common vernacular schools, which remained in a state of neglect or were altogether lacking until new social forces, unrelated to the Reformation in any way, caused official exertion to be made for their improvement in the eighteenth century. As is likely to be the case in such controversies, the truth lies partly in both camps.

There can be no denial that the Reformation in Germany brought about official acceptance of the obligation to establish vernacular schools. In all the Church Regulations (*Kirchenordnungen*), which contained the official statement of the new forms of church administration and worship called for by the revolt from the Catholic church and which were published in all the sovereignties which had accepted the Lutheran faith, the provision of schools was mentioned, almost without exception, as a duty of the local churches. Since the churches were part of the civil administration this acceptance of the obligation on the part of the churches to provide schools, is really an acknowledgment that schools for the people were a civil concern. Also, during the second half of the Reformation century, many official rescripts of the sovereigns of German states followed the example set by Württemberg in 1559, which made it obligatory upon all villages to maintain German schools in which reading and writing, religion, and music were to be taught. Before the middle of the following century practically all the Lutheran states of Germany and Catholic Bavaria as well had made such legal pronouncements in favor of schools for the masses of the people. Certainly it was not a small matter that the principle of universal provision of vernacular schools had been accepted as a matter of settled administrative policy and there can be no denial that the legal provision for such schools was the direct result of Reformation needs and influences.

There were, however, a great many forces that operated against the fullest fruition of these good laws. For a full century after the Reformation opened, Germany was in a state of more or less constant strife and turmoil. From 1618 to 1648, during what is named the Thirty Years' War, Germany was harried for a full generation with almost continuous wars, which left large areas of the land in ruins. Commerce and trade were interrupted and the farming classes were generally in a state of extreme poverty. The resources were lacking for putting into operation an aggressive policy with regard to the common schools.

As far as the towns were concerned, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw them supplied with vernacular schools, but this can hardly be laid altogether to the credit of the Reformation because such schools had existed before the sixteenth century and were simply continued, at least in large part, under different administrative control. But in the rural districts the story was quite a different one. Dr. C. L. Robbins, in his scholarly study of *Teachers in Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, says that " when the matter of establishing village schools in Nassau was under consideration in 1552 it was found that all the sextons, with one exception, were unable to read and this one person had no inclination to hold school." Life in the country was crude and stagnant, economic resources were extremely deficient, an effective teaching personnel was lacking, and the arm of the central authorities was weak. The law was put into effect in some localities, while in others it was neglected, but even where schools were established, they remained, with the outstanding exception of a few states, in a state of miserable inefficiency until well into the eighteenth century or even beyond. As we proceed into the discussion of the condition of the lower classes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Chapter V), it will be seen that the attitude of the ruling classes of society and the economic position of the working classes tended, during the centuries immediately following the Reformation, in large measure to offset the implications of that movement with regard to popular education.

The influence upon the American colonies of the Lutheran Reformation was relatively slight, since the Germans made up only a small proportion of the colonial population. When German immigration became important in the nineteenth century, the educational ideas which the Germans brought with them to this country were of a decidedly different pattern from that of the Reformation period. However, in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and other scattered localities, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the transplanting of the notion of church-controlled schools and the establishment of schools under the auspices of various German sects.

Calvinism and the Elementary School. — Much more important than the Lutheran reform movement for the history of American education was the revolt against the Catholic church which centered in the life and writings of John Calvin (1509–1564). Calvin was a Frenchman who went even farther than Luther in the direction of simplifying church belief and worship. He took the Bible as the source of all authority, rejecting all the points of doctrine, all the church sacraments, all the forms of church administration, even all the elements of the ritual, for which authority could not be found in the Bible. He eliminated the pageantry and sensuous appeal of the mass, silenced the organs, broke up the images, put out the candles, and removed the stained-glass windows from the churches. He demanded a personal experience of religion of every one who would be admitted to the church. In the matter of church administration he placed a great deal of power in the hands of the laymen, who elected their own pastors and were represented in the councils of the church. Actually, however, the pastors exercised great influence over their congregations and were practical dictators of church policy, and of civil policy, as well, in many communities. Calvinism made considerable demands upon intelligence in that it called upon all professing members to know the grounds of their faith and in particular to know the Bible. It laid great stress upon personal devotions, assiduous Bible reading, and family worship.

Calvin's doctrines appealed to a large section of the French middle class, but after a half century of violent religious warfare, France as a whole had officially remained Catholic. By the Edict of Nantes, 1598, the Huguenots, as the French Calvinists were called, were given full liberty of conscience and in over two hundred cities were allowed to organize public worship according to their beliefs. Through this arrangement a large proportion of the substantial business men and of the skilled tradesmen of France became Calvinists. The Edict of Nantes was repealed, however, in 1689, when a great many Huguenots, refusing to give up their religious faith, emigrated to other lands. Many of them came to the American colonies, where they constituted an extremely important part of the population, influential out of all proportion to their numbers because of their wealth, their intelligence, their proficiency in trades, and their participation in public affairs. The main seat of Calvinism in the sixteenth century was Geneva, where Calvin lived and where he organized a state controlled by the congregations and their ministers. The administrative and educational systems which he established there were influential wherever the Calvinistic religion made its way.

Schools of the Reformed Church in Holland. — Calvinism followed the Rhine down into the Netherlands, where it became the religion of the Dutch provinces, engaged in a life-and-death struggle for freedom from Philip II of Spain. Here again Calvinism made its contact with a middle-class population of merchants and manufacturers, who controlled the civil life and who adopted the faith of Calvin as a state church under the name of the Dutch Reformed Church.

The Lowland countries had been among the earliest parts of northern Europe to develop a thriving commercial life, bustling and wealthy cities, and a prosperous burgher class. Following the same conditions of existence, the Lowland towns and cities saw an early and extensive development of vernacular schools. With the change of religion, there was heightened interest in vernacular as well as in Latin schools. The general meetings of the Dutch Reformed Church, called synods, pronounced upon education even before the United Netherlands had won freedom from Spain and while being held on foreign soil. The synods of the church effectually represented the governing burgher class; and when the synods assigned the control of the schools to the civil magistrates, they were simply designating the church members themselves in their civil capacity as the source of authority in education.

It is extremely significant, however, that the Dutch were interested in the vernacular schools and made very special provision for their maintenance and oversight. The Great Synod of Dort (1618) called upon all heads of families to conduct family worship and to instruct their children in the Bible and the catechism. It also recognized the deficiency of elementary schools in the rural villages and called for the establishment of schools "in towns and country places where heretofore none have existed." Further universalization of school opportunity was shown in the provision that the children of the poor should be given free instruction. As is to be expected, the magistrates were asked to see to it that only orthodox members of the Reformed Church should be employed as teachers and that they should be of blameless life as well as perfect in faith. The subject matter of education was almost exclusively religious. The children were not only to learn the Heidelberg catechism by heart, but they were to be expected to understand its doctrines, which, one must admit, was expecting a good deal of children in the elementary school. Close contact with the regular church services was secured through the rule that the teacher should take the children regularly to hear the preaching, particularly the ministerial instruction regarding the catechism, and should question them about the same. The supervision of the schools was intrusted to the local pastor, accompanied by one of the elders, and, if necessary, by a magistrate.

A list of books officially published at Utrecht in 1650 indicates the substantially religious content of the curriculum.[1] It included the *Great and Small A-B-C Book* (which contained, besides the letters of the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and some prayers), the *Heidelberg Catechism*, and the Gospels and Epistles. In addition to these were other books of a religious and moral nature, as well as one which treated of the wars of the Dutch people and their struggle for independence. The inclusion of a book which inculcated national patriotism and pride was prophetic of the day when the schools of the people should be regarded primarily as nurseries of patriotism. It is further indicative of the close union which subsisted between the church and the civil governments in the United Netherlands in the seventeenth century.

The Duties of a Dutch Schoolmaster in New York. — The influence of the Dutch schools on the American development occurred through the fact that the Dutch settled in New Amsterdam (later New York) in 1612 and brought their civil and educational administration with them. The close interdependence between the work of the school and the church in the Dutch colony is interestingly revealed in a contract made in 1682 between Johannes Van Eckkelen, the teacher, and the constable and overseers, representing the civil arm of Flatbush, and the consistory, representing the ecclesiastical.[2] According to this contract, school sessions were to begin and end with prayer, and twice a week the children were to be taught the catechism and the common prayers. In addition to a stated sum of six hundred and thirty-four guilders paid him as basic salary for his teaching and other duties, he was to receive three guilders a quarter for a speller or reader and four guilders for a writer. For the children attending the evening school the rates were a little higher. The implication is clear enough that the curriculum consisted of reading, spelling, and writing, for no mention is made of any other subjects for which he might expect pay.

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[1] See W. H. Kilpatrick, *The Dutch Schools of New Netherlands and Colonial New York*, pp. 34-f.

[2] This is found in D. J. Platt, *Annals of Public Education in the State of New York, 1626–1746*, pp. 65–67. It is readily available in E. P. Cubberley, *Readings in the History of Education*, pp. 303–305.

When one reads the list of other capacities besides that of schoolmaster in which Van Eckkelen was expected to serve, one must suspect that his life at times became rather complicated. It was his duty to keep the church clean and ring the bell three times for each church service. Between the ringing of the second and the third bell he was to read a chapter of the Scriptures, and after the third bell he was to read the Ten Commandments and the twelve Articles of Faith and then to lead the singing. He also had to substitute for the minister when he was preaching at Brooklyn or New Utrecht, by reading out of a book of worship, and in the afternoon conduct catechetical exercises for the children. It was a part of his duty to provide the baptismal ewer with water on the occasion of baptisms and to furnish, at the expense of the church, bread and wine for communion services. Besides serving as messenger for the consistory, he contracted to dig the graves for the congregation, toll the bell for the funeral services, and deliver the funeral invitations. For every town outside of Flatbush to which he was expected to deliver such invitations he received three guilders extra pay, while for a trip across the river to New York on such an errand he was to have four guilders extra.

The influence of the Dutch upon American education was limited by the fact that, in 1664, New Amsterdam was conquered by the English and thereafter there was little expansion of the Dutch settlements. The Dutch who remained were, however, given a great deal of freedom by the English in matters educational and religious and long continued to maintain their churches and schools.

Scotch Presbyterians and Elementary Education. — The branch of Calvinism that most profoundly affected the colonial and early national development of education in the United States came to this land through Scotland. Scotland adopted the Calvinistic religion at about the middle of the sixteenth century, largely through the fiery efforts of John Knox, who had sat at the feet of Calvin at Geneva. The Scotch Reformation was accomplished through a political union of the middle class and the nobility against the Crown, but it finally placed political power fully in the hands of the middle-class burgesses, the low-born ministers of the church, and the gentry, who were important landowners, but not of the nobility. The Church of Scotland was organized according to the Presbyterian form of church administration. The members of the local churches elected their own pastors. The pastor and one or more lay delegates represented the local congregation at a meeting of the presbytery, which comprised a number of congregations, while a national body, called the General Assembly, was composed of representatives of the various presbyteries. As was the case in Holland, the form of church administration made the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in Scotland as representative of the substantial political power in that country as was the political parliament.

For many persons born and reared in the United States, it is possible out of their own experience to reproduce much of the color and spirit of Scotch Presbyterianism in the Reformation century, for there continue even to this day Presbyterian churches in certain localities that adhere closely to the religious practices of their Scotch prototype. The writer recalls a church of the Scottish Covenanters in Pennsylvania which, white and plain, stood upon a commanding hill looking across fertile, well-kept farms to blue mountains. Inside, the church was bare, — no organ, no rich colors of carved wood and upholstery, no images, no paintings, not even stained-glass windows. In that church only the Psalms of David were sung. The sermons were long, solid, and usually doctrinal in character. The preacher was expected to preach to his people out of a full mind and to speak with God in his prayers out of a full heart, without the aid of ritualistic formulas or a prayer book. The preparation for the quarterly communion was a solemn time and no one might come to the Lord's table who had not been present at the preparatory service and received his brass token in testimony thereof. The elders of the church were men of proud port and serious mien who seemed to sense the importance of their guardianship of the sanctuary, for no one might enter into church membership who had not come before them and undergone a searching examination regarding his soundness in the faith. At midweek services they were called upon to lead the congregation in prayer, and who has heard one of those farmer-elders pray without being impressed? They had the eloquence that came from deep feeling, drawing for its thought and language upon the inspired beauty of the Psalms of David, the moral sublimity of the great prophecies of the Old Testament, and the appealing tenderness of the gospel of Christ. And in their homes the members of that congregation maintained a family altar, for no food was eaten without a word of thanks and blessing, and no day was ended without the family convocation with its chapter from the Bible and its prayer.

Only a little later than the time when the ancestors of these farmers had left their homes in Ulster to fight Indians and subdue the wilderness of Pennsylvania, Robert Burns pictured the same religious feeling and practices among the humble folk of Scotland in *The Cotter's Saturday Night.* At the close of the long day's work in the fields this humble tenant farmer and his family gather about the evening meal.

The cheerfu' supper done, wi' serious face
  They round the ingle form a circle wide;
The sire turns o'er, wi' patriarchal grace,
  The big ha'-Bible, ance his father's pride.

* * * * * * *

  He wales a portion with judicious care,
And, "Let us worship God!" he says with solemn air.

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They chant their artless notes in simple guise;
  They tune their hearts, by far the noblest aim:
Perhaps *Dundee's* wild-warbling measures rise,
  Or plaintive *Martyrs*, worthy of the name;
  Or noble *Elgin* beets the heav'nward flame,
The sweetest far of Scotia's holy lays.

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The priest-like father reads the sacred page,

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Then kneeling down to Heaven's Eternal King
  The saint, the father, and the husband prays.

Early Scottish Attempts to Make Legal Provision for Schools. — As one would expect from the nature of their religion, the Scotch Presbyterians were interested in education of all grades. The first *Book of Policy*, issued by the General Assembly in 1560–1561, recommended to the Scotch Parliament that in every parish where there was a town of any reputation there should be a Latin school under a competent schoolmaster and that in the country parishes the reader or minister should teach the youth. An Act of Parliament in 1567 made the Presbyterian " superintendents or visitors " responsible for the supervision of teaching, while an act of 1592 gave the same church officials the power of licensing schoolmasters. In 1640, Parliament gave the presbyteries the right to appoint tax masters with power to levy a school tax for supporting the parish schools. In an overture of the General Assembly to Parliament in 1641 occurs a passage which forecasts very definitely the provisions of the famous Massachusetts Law of 1647. The passage reads: " Every parish would have a reader and a school wherein children are to be bred in reading, writing, and the grounds of religion according to the laudable acts both of church and Parliament before made. And where grammar schools may be had, as in burghs and in other considerable places (among which all presbyterial seats are to be respected) that they may be erected and held hand to." In 1646 a law was passed which called for a school in every parish, with a teacher appointed by advice of the presbytery. The local church members were expected to provide a schoolhouse and find the teacher's salary. However, as in so much of the school legislation of the Reformation period, the benevolent intentions of this law remained to a large extent inoperative and it was not until the eighteenth century that a general system of common parish schools was provided in Scotland. That does not mean, though, that the Scotch Presbyterians, in the mass, were illiterate. It means that private agencies and home instruction had to be relied upon for elementary education, with areas here and there of out-and-out educational destitution. It is a mistake for one to take it for granted that because there was no public or parish school in a community, there was no school at all.

The Scotch-Irish in American Education. — The Scottish religious and educational impulse came to this country through the Scotch and the Scotch-Irish, or Ulsterites, the latter of whom came to the colonies in great numbers throughout the eighteenth century, notably after 1714. They settled in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania beyond the line of existing settlements, and they followed the Shenandoah Valley and the Appalachian mountains down into the Carolinas and into Kentucky and Tennessee. They were conspicuously a pioneering breed. From the College of New Jersey, or Princeton College as it came to be called, their ministers went out to positions of social and educational leadership among their people and did much to establish the intellectual tradition which dominated the nineteenth century in the United States. They were active in the founding of colleges and academies. While it is impossible to point to any definite achievement in elementary education for which they were responsible, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were active everywhere in the support of community schools and among the leaders of progressive cpinion in favor of elementary schools maintained and supported by the civil government.

The English Puritans and the New England School System. — By far the most important influence that came into American education during colonial times and the most important educational influence that came into this country out of the Protestant Reformation was that of the English Puritans who settled in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. The Reformation in England had a curious history, for in the beginning, under Henry VIII, it was as little a religious revolution as that sovereign could contrive. Henry VIII wrote a refutation of the heresies of Martin Luther for which the Pope bestowed upon him the title of Defender of the Faith. When for political, or, perhaps better, matrimonial reasons, Henry broke away from the Catholic church in 1534 and declared himself supreme head of the church in England, he continued as nearly as possible the ritual, the creed, and the administration of the Catholic church. The forces of church reform first made conspicuous headway in England during the reign of Edward VI, the son of Henry VIII, in whose reign the influence of Calvin was decidedly visible in the simplification of worship and in modifications of the church creed. On the death of Edward, England swung part way back to Catholicism under Mary, but upon the accession of Elizabeth a middle-of-the-road Protestantism was adopted, which remains in its essentials the official religion of England today. Much of the aesthetic appeal of the Catholic service was continued, and the bishops remained in a position of power, although there was considerable compromise with the Calvinistic viewpoint in matters of doctrine. The main tenets and practices of the Established Church were finally determined in the *Book of Common Prayer* and the Thirty-nine Articles, officially adopted in 1563.

The compromise arrived at was unsatisfactory to the extreme Calvinist group, who wished the purification of ritual according to the Geneva pattern and who would be satisfied with nothing less than the Presbyterian form of church administration as it was practiced in Scotland. Many such among the ministers accepted the Thirty-nine Articles and acknowledged the lawful sovereign as the head of the English Church, but they kept working within the church for the ends they sought. They wished to "purify" the church of its popery, as they called the aesthetic elements of its ritual and its episcopal form of administration. From this intention of purifying the church from within, the members of this church party were called Puritans. It was this religious group that furnished the personnel of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and of the two colonies of Connecticut. There was a still more extreme but much less influential party in the English religious situation in the early seventeenth century who were not only Calvinists of the strictest temper, but who in addition desired a congregational organization of religion with not only no bishops but no presbytery and no established church. It was representatives of this party that settled at Plymouth Bay in Massachusetts.

The Puritans were largely middle-class folk who occupied much the same place in English society that the Huguenots occupied in French. They were always a minority party in England, although for a time — from 1642 to 1660 — they held control of the English government under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. For the reason that they were never substantially in control of English opinion, the characteristic educational fruits of Calvinism that we perhaps have come to expect, did not appear in English life, although they developed in New England, where a real Puritan commonwealth was established.

The English Reformation as a whole had singularly little effect upon education. It did not result in any administrative reorganization nor did it create any noteworthy increase of zeal for popular education. The principal effect seems to have been a stiffening of the determination of the rulers to eliminate all non-conforming teachers. To this end the bishops of the church of England were enjoined to visit all schools, in order to see that the religious teaching was satisfactory and to compel all schoolmasters to take the Oath of Supremacy and swear their adherence to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Established Church. As we shall see later on, there were social forces operating in England during the sixteenth century to the disadvantage of the common people. Nor was there in the religious system of the Established Church the demand for personal participation of the worshiper on the high levels of intelligence which the various branches of Calvinism made. These factors partly explain the failure of the English Reformation to do more than it did for popular education.

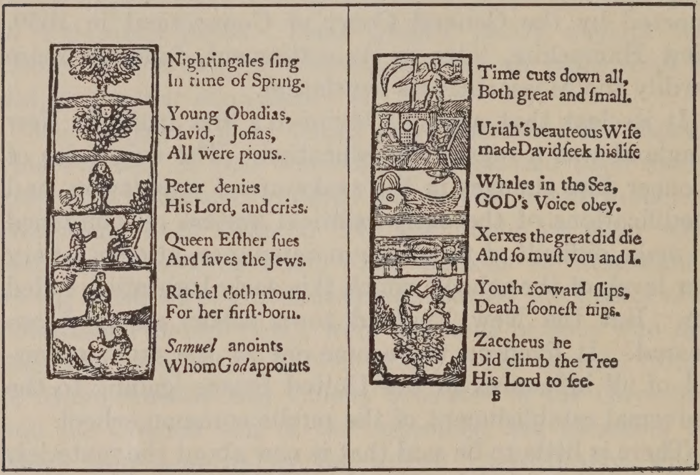
The Puritan colony which was established at Massachusetts Bay in 1627 immediately organized itself along lines that point very directly to the Calvinistic influence emanating from Geneva. No one might be voter who was not church-member. The persons in attendance at the meetings of the church who elected the pastor and determined church policy were the same persons who determined town action in civil affairs. The General Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony consisted of the Governor and his Council and of the Assembly, the members of which were sent up by the towns. Accordingly, when Massachusetts Bay Colony decided in 1636 to establish Harvard College it was, in effect, erecting a state college for the preparation of Puritan ministers. When in 1647 the General Court decreed that every town of fifty families should have an elementary school in which children might learn to read and write, and that every town of one hundred families should have a Latin school which was fitted to prepare youth for the university, it was following out almost literally the overture of the Scottish General Assembly of 1641. (See p. 40.) Moreover, the town schools thus provided for were schools of the Puritan religion, and the town authorities which maintained them were the representatives of the church members acting in their civil relationship. The pastors of the churches were the supervisors of the schools and the main materials of instruction were the Bible and the tenets of the Calvinistic religion.

The social and political organization which obtained in Massachusetts was established in Connecticut on more liberal lines, and the Massachusetts law of 1647 was enacted by the General Court of Connecticut in 1650. New Hampshire, later in its settlement, followed more tardily the Massachusetts legislation.

It is clear that among Calvinism's first fruits in New England was a regard for education. The exigencies of pioneer life, changes in the make-up of population, and modifications of the early political system all combined to make difficult at times the maintenance, at even a very low level, of the schools which this early legislation called for. But the New England town school never disappeared. It lived on to become one of the most powerful of all influences in the United States leading to the universal establishment of the public common school.

There is little to be said that is new about the materials of instruction used in the schools of Puritan New England during Colonial times. They were the same in general character as those of the Evangelical Lutheran school and the Dutch school, which have already been described. There developed, however, in New England a very famous textbook known as the *New England Primer*, which illustrates for us as well as anything can the materials and spirit of instruction in the elementary school that resulted from the Protestant Reformation.

The *New England Primer*. — The first edition of this work was printed in Boston for Benjamin Harris between 1687 and 1690 and at once had a favorable reception. For a full century it was the most used schoolbook in the dissenting colonies of America, and it continued to be used widely until well into the nineteenth century. In his notable work entitled *The New England Primer*, Paul Leicester Ford quotes George Livermore, an early collector of the book, as saying in 1849 that " within the last dozen years 100,000 copies of modern editions . . . have been circulated." Ford continues: " An over-conservative claim for it is to estimate an annual average sale of twenty thousand copies during a period of one hundred and fifty years, or total sales of three million copies." [1]



Nightingales ſing
In time of Spring.

Young Obadias,
David, Joſias,
All were pious.

Peter denies
His Lord, and cries.

Queen Eſther ſues
And ſaves the Jews.

Rachel doth mourn
For her firſt-born.

Samuel anoints
Whom *God* appoints

Time cuts down all,
Both great and ſmall.

Uriah's beauteous Wife
made David ſeek his life

Whales in the Sea,
GOD's Voice obey.

Xerxes the great did die
And ſo muſt you and I.

Youth forward ſlips,
Death ſooneſt nips.

Zaccheus he
Did climb the Tree
His Lord to ſee.
B

PAGES FROM THE *NEW ENGLAND PRIMER*

These pages, taken from a copy of the New England Primer owned by Mr. George A. Plimpton, reproduce the rhymed alphabet found in all editions of the *Primer*.

The *New England Primer* was printed in many editions, with some variations in the different texts. All exhibited, however, the following features: a table of the letters in various forms; the famous collection of two-letter syllables made by putting one consonant and one vowel together, such as the first line, *at*, *et*, *it*, *ot*, *ut*, which came to be known as the " a-b, ab's "; short tables of words, of one, two, three, four, and five syllables; a rhymed and illustrated alphabet, beginning

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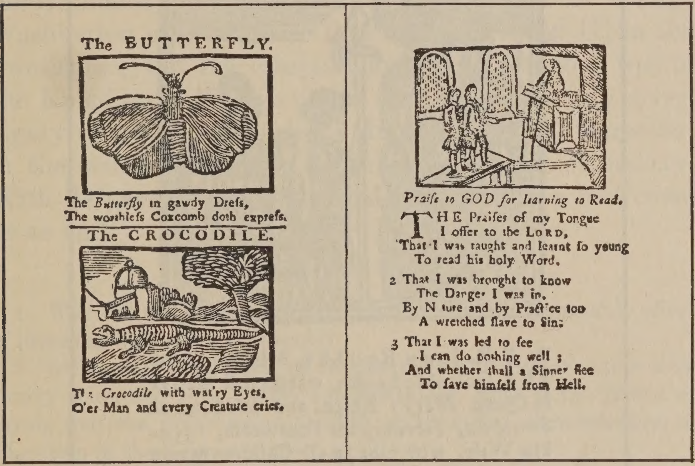
[1] Paul Leicester Ford, *The New England Primer*, Dodd, Mead, 1899, p. 45.



The BUTTERFLY.

The *Butterfly* in gawdy Dreſs,
The worthleſs Coxcomb doth expreſs.

The CROCODILE.

The *Crocodile* with wat'ry Eyes,
O'er Man and every Creature cries.

Praiſe to GOD for learning to Read.

THE Praiſes of my Tongue
I offer to the LORD,
That I was taught and learnt ſo young
To read his holy Word.

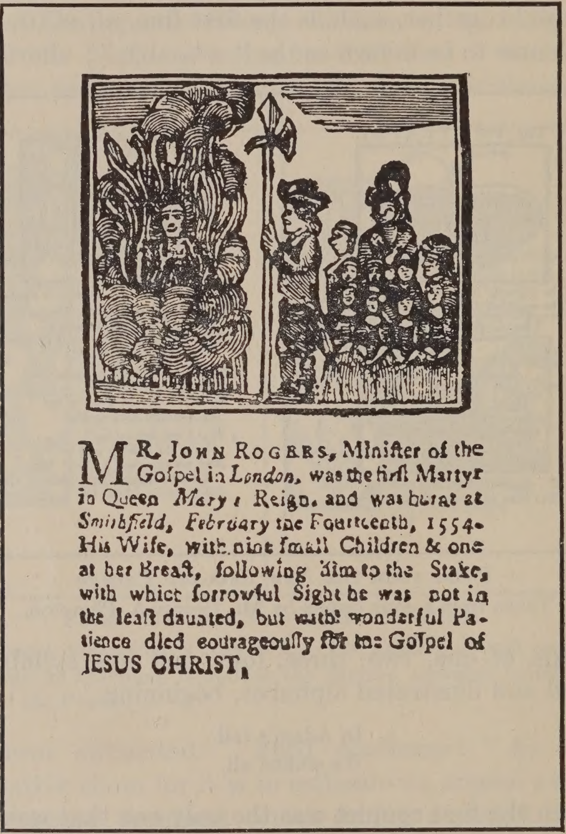
2 That I was brought to know
The Danger I was in,
By Nature and by Practice too
A wretched ſlave to Sin:

3 That I was led to ſee
I can do nothing well;
And whether ſhall a Sinner flee
To ſave himſelf from Hell.

Pages from the *New England Primer*
Taken from a copy owned by Mr. George A. Plimpton.

In Adam's fall
We sinned all,

of which the first couplet was the only one that was never changed in any edition; an alphabet of lessons for youth, made up of verses from the Bible; the Lord's Prayer; the Apostles' Creed; a picture of John Rogers being burned at the stake with his wife and ten children beside him, together with a poem said to have been written by the martyr, shortly before his death, as a guide to his children; and finally, the so-called *Shorter Catechism* of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Sometimes the Ten Commandments were included, and in some editions appeared John Cotton's "Spiritual Milk for Babes Drawn out of the Breasts of Both Testaments." Another fre-



MR. JOHN ROGERS, Miniſter of the Goſpel in *London*, was the firſt Martyr in Queen *Mary's* Reign, and was burnt at *Smithfield*, *February* the Fourteenth, 1554. His Wife, with nine ſmall Children & one at her Breaſt, following him to the Stake, with which ſorrowful Sight he was not in the leaſt daunted, but with wonderful Patience died courageouſly for the Goſpel of JESUS CHRIST.

A PAGE FROM THE *NEW ENGLAND PRIMER*

Taken from a copy owned by Mr. George A. Plimpton.

quently appearing item was " A Dialogue between Christ, Youth, and the Devil."

In its long course of vitality the *New England Primer* was adapted in certain details to changing political circumstances and loyalties, but it remained always a predominantly religious work. The picture of George Washington might replace that of King George III in the frontispiece, but the essential loyalty of the book was to the Kingdom of Heaven rather than to any earthly sovereignty or mundane interest. It was religious, moreover, in the strict and narrow sense of Calvinistic orthodoxy. With its passing an intellectual and social era had come to an end.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why did the Protestant Reformation have the immediate effect of lessening the supply of schools?

2. Seeing that the schools in Germany after the Reformation were closely connected with church administration, what is the justice of saying that the Reformation brought about a civil administration of education in the German states?

3. Read Luther's *Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen* and his *Sermon on the Duty of Sending Children to School* and see whether or not you agree with the statement made on p. 26 that Luther's first thought was for the provision of Latin schools.

4. Which of the religious denominations mentioned in the foregoing chapter are represented in your locality? Are there any existing records of the educational activities of those denominations in the early history of that locality? Can you make an interesting story out of these records for publication in a local newspaper?

5. Why must one be guarded in accepting the passage of a law calling for the establishment of schools as sufficient evidence that the schools called for actually came into existence?

6. What changes in worship and in the conception of the responsibilities of church membership, brought about by the Protestant Reformation, made the ability to read of great importance to all individuals in the church?

7. What examples of early Reformation textbooks, catechisms, or

books of worship are to be found in your school, college, or community library, or in any collections of local historical societies?

8. What significance is to be attached to the close union of church membership and the right to vote in the Puritan colonies of New England? Were the town schools of Massachusetts agencies of religious indoctrination?

9. Estimate the effects upon the child of a prolonged and exclusive study of the *New England Primer*.

10. What survivals of early Protestant education, either with respect to church practices or school administration, have come within your personal experience?

REFERENCES

Luther's writings on education are contained in F. V. N. PAINTER, *Luther on Education*, Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia. This work will also be available in the volume of the McGraw-Hill Education Classics entitled *Luther, Calvin, and Other Protestant Educators*, edited by F. Eby. The student will do well to read the account of the Reformation and its influence on popular education, as given in the following: S. C. PARKER, *History of Modern Elementary Education*, Chapter III, Ginn; E. P. CUBBERLEY, *The History of Education*, pp. 306–335 and 356–371, Houghton Mifflin; P. Monroe, *Text Book in the History of Education*, Chapter IX, Macmillan.

A special report for class use might be made by some student on the following: C. L. ROBBINS, *Teachers in Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Teachers College Bureau of Publications; W. H. KILPATRICK, *The Dutch Schools of New Netherlands and Colonial New York*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1912, No. 12.

A facsimile reproduction of the *New England Primer*, published by Ginn, may be had from Mr. LeRoy Phillips, 41 Winter Street, Boston.

CHAPTER IV

CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY EDUCATION FOLLOWING THE REFORMATION

All matters connected with the Protestant Reformation have been so much involved in controversy that it is extremely difficult to get at the truth in them, and this applies to the history of education as well as to other concerns. The Protestant historian has tended to overstate the gains for elementary education that resulted from the Reformation movement. He has recounted the educational fervor of great leaders and pointed to the long list of official rescripts and regulations calling for the establishment of elementary schools and has taken these manifestations as evidence of the actual establishment of a universal system of vernacular schools. Against that position, however, must be placed the large discrepancy which we know existed between expectation and accomplishment in many Protestant states. Furthermore, a great deal must be deducted on account of the miserable inefficiency of many of the schools for the common people which did come into existence. To no considerable extent were the schools established open to all without fees, and there was no system of compulsory attendance which guaranteed the use of existing schools.

With printed books available for those who could read, there was incentive, irrespective of religious motives, for middle-class families, comfortable artisans, and even the more self-respecting and ambitious poor, to secure for their children an elementary education — that is to say, the ability to read and write, and perhaps to do simple arithmetic — at the small cost at which it was available. In the cities and towns of Europe, whether Catholic or Protestant, there was a considerable supply of schools for those who were willing to pay for school service. Most of the records that are available concerning elementary school supply are of towns. In sixteenth-century Germany there were German schools in all towns, and this was as true of the parts of Germany that remained Catholic as of those parts that became Protestant. The United Netherlands probably made greater progress toward a general provision of elementary schools than any other important political division of the times, and this may be attributed largely to the relative density of population and the advanced development of town life in that country. Scotland, with the best of intentions regarding the development of a general system of public elementary schools, being a poor agricultural region and largely rural, did not have any substantial success in that project until well into the eighteenth century.

There was, however, something in the nature of the Protestant religion that favored universal literacy which was not present in the Catholic. The Catholic service was a religious drama in which the officiating priests alone were active, while the worshiper experienced feeling and made only relatively passive responses. The service was in Latin, the sermon was little stressed, the ritual was carried out by trained priests and choristers, while the confessional put the priest in a position of mediation between the church member and his God. In the early stages of the Reformation, the Protestants laid so much stress on personal reading of the Bible that it became one of the key positions in the controversy. Indeed it may be said that Protestantism was just an effort to place Christian doctrine and church administration back upon primitive Biblical precedents. This movement the Catholic church resisted, so much so, indeed, that during the heat of the religious struggle it actively opposed the reading of the Bible indiscriminately and privately by laymen. Accordingly, there was lacking in Catholic countries at least some of the immediacy of the Protestant motive for teaching all children to read.

Post-Reformation Revival of Catholic Interest in Popular Education. — There resulted in the Catholic church, however, a noteworthy revival of religious and educational zeal in response to the Protestant movement. The great Council of Trent, which sat at intervals between 1545 and 1563, authorized the preparation of a catechism for the instruction of children in the grounds of Catholic faith, and this book became as important in the instruction given in Catholic schools as were similar works in the Protestant schools. This council also ordained, in 1547, that every parish priest should establish in connection with his church at least one master, chosen on consultation with the bishop and chapter, to teach gratuitously reading, writing, singing, and arithmetic to clerks and poor scholars. A later council, held at Bourges, decreed in 1584 that the education of girls in every parish should be confided to widows or other women capable of teaching them reading and bringing them up in the Christian life. The success which these ordinances achieved is, however, subject to the same uncertainty which affects the official regulations in Protestant countries. The most they can tell us is that at least the Catholic Church made active representations in favor of the elementary school and even in favor of the free instruction of poor children.

The most conspicuous educational result of the Reformation, on the Catholic side, was the development of the great teaching order known as the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits. This teaching order, however, concerned itself only with the Latin schools and higher institutions of learning, and for that reason does not come into this story at all. There were founded, however, many societies whose activities fell in the field of popular education. The Ursulines, an order of nuns, were founded in 1535 in Italy to give free instruction to girls, particularly along religious and moral lines. This order was introduced into France in 1596, at which time there developed a very considerable activity in the organization of religious orders to give free religious and general instruction to girls. It was not until after the middle of the seventeenth century, however, that any similar organizations were developed to give the same grade of instruction to boys. By that time the fires of the Reformation had somewhat burnt out and it seems a bit strained to attach the founding of the great teaching orders providing elementary education for boys in any causal relationship to the Reformation. The movement arose rather as a philanthropic response to the miserable and depraved condition of large numbers of city children which was characteristic of the late seventeenth century. Accordingly treatment of this extremely significant movement may well be postponed and taken up in its relationship to the social and economic conditions of its time.

Elementary Schools in Catholic Lands. — In the Catholic parts of Germany, the private authorized and unauthorized German schools of the earlier period continued in the cities after the Reformation. The instruction given in those schools was largely religious, following the Catholic faith. In Munich, for example, which was the capital of Catholic Bavaria, there were in 1560 nineteen Germany elementary schools, as is shown in the report of a visit of inspection to find out whether or not the religious instruction given in them was sound. The masters were accustomed to teaching the children prayers and hymns and preparing them for confession and communion if the parents so desired.[1] The example of the Protestant states was followed by Duke Albrecht of Catholic Bavaria, who promulgated school regulations in 1569 which placed all school masters under the supervision of the Catholic church and prescribed instruction in reading and writing, and in the Catholic catechism. The provision of schools for the children of the common people was probably as adequate in the Catholic territories of Germany during the century following the Reformation as it was in the Protestant parts of that country, taken as a whole.

As to Catholic France, the position has often been advanced by the proponents of secularization of French schools in the nineteenth century that there were practically no schools for the common people before the French Revolution. However, a great deal of painstaking research among provincial and church archives has revealed the fact that the destitution respecting common schools was not so great during the pre-revolutionary period as has been claimed.[2] Certainly schools were universal in the larger centers of population in the sixteenth century and many rural parishes were supplied with schools under the direction of the priest.

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[1] See E. Nohle, "History of the German School System," in *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1897–1898*, I.

[2] The results of this research are given in considerable measure in Buisson, *Dictionnaire de pédagogie, Ière Partie*, published in 1887, under the headings of the various geographical divisions of France. It is also summarized, not altogether judicially, in E. Allain, *L'instruction primaire en France avant la Révolution*, Paris, 1881.

The long civil conflict over religion in France caused the destruction of many foundations which had afforded opportunities for the children of the poor to make the beginnings of a Latin education. Writing in 1576, Claude Sainctes, Bishop of Evreaux, said, " We must curse the negligence, or rather the sacrilegious conduct of our age, in which one has seen gentlemen, members of the parish, usurping or alienating the schoolhouses and the resources with which they were endowed, with the result that one now scarcely finds a school or a master, not only in the open country, but in towns and villages."[1] However, upon the close of the religious conflict in France in 1598, civil and ecclesiastical forces united in endeavoring to improve the supply of elementary schools, so that by the end of the first half of the century following the Reformation, the conditions of education for the common people were greatly improved. For example, the archbishop of Rouen, in 1683, visited thirty-eight parishes and found in them twenty-two schools. Three years later he found forty-two schools in fifty-six parishes.[2] In Franche-Comté a vigorous impulse had been given to primary instruction by the bishops of Besançon following the close of the sixteenth century. An episcopal ordinance of 1633 imposed upon all parishes the maintenance of a teacher, who was to teach the children reading, writing, and singing. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the eight hundred parishes of Doubs, the Jura, and of Haut-Saône were all provided with primary schools.[3]

In Paris, in 1672, there were 334 masters and mistresses of *petites écoles*, as the elementary schools were called in

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[1] J. Guibert, *Jean-Baptiste de la Salle*, p. XXII.

[2] Allain, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[3] See the article " Franche-Comté," in the *Dictionnaire de pédagogie.*

France. The precentor of Notre Dame had full authority over this grade of instruction. All masters and mistresses annually had to secure their licenses to teach from him. He was the head of the corporation which they had formed to guard their privileges. Apparently there were more teachers of this grade in Paris at that time than there were pupils to keep them employed, and competition in the field of elementary education was intense. In spite of the efforts of the precentor, there were many unlicensed masters who set up schools outside the law. There was also competition from the Latin schools, which tended to include vernacular instruction among their offerings to gain the large clientele of the lower middle classes who did not need the Latin course in their affairs. There was also the competition of the writing masters, who tended to encroach upon the preserves of the masters of the "little schools." Still another source of competition with the elementary schoolmasters, and the most difficult of all for them to meet, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and thereafter, was the great number of free schools for poor children which philanthropy was calling into existence.

The situation which has been described as existing in Paris in the seventeenth century was substantially the same in all other important centers of French population. Even allowing, therefore, a certain discount for the partisan bias of much of the literature bearing on the subject, it must be believed that in the Catholic countries which have been mentioned, there was considerable zeal for public education in the period following the Reformation. What information we have makes it necessary to soften considerably the claim frequently made by Protestant writers that Protestantism was uniquely and exclusively the mother of the common schools.

Materials and Methods in Catholic Elementary Schools. — The materials and the methods of instruction in the Catholic elementary schools followed closely the practices of the Protestant countries, with an important exception to be noted for France. In that country the Latin language was taught along with French in the common schools, and this continued to be the practice until the influence of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in the last quarter of the seventeenth century eliminated Latin from the lowest grade of instruction. Apparently there was in France a better mode of elementary instruction in the seventeenth century than in any other country of Europe. A little book entitled *L'école paroissiale*, published in Paris in 1654, and written by an anonymous priest, shows a technique of instruction and school management well-standardized and in some respects extremely enlightened for the times. The children were to have in their possession "a little book of four or five leaves," containing the letters in various forms. This book was also to contain two columns of syllables made up of all the letters that could go together, both with simple vowels, as *ba*, *pa*, and with a liquid and a vowel as *bra*, *bla*. Next was included the *Pater*, *Ave*, *Credo*, *Misereatur*, *Confiteor*, *Benedicite*, *Agimus*, *Et beata*, and *Angele Dei*, plainly printed and divided into syllables set well apart. As soon as the children knew their letters and were able to spell, they were to be given a second book which should contain the *Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, *Salve regina*, Bible versicles, a prayer, seven psalms, the litanies of the saints, of the holy name of Jesus, and of the Blessed Virgin, a list of common numbers running up to 1000, and the verses and responses of the mass. The course of instruction called for still a third book which was also mainly religious in content.

From the curriculum shown above, it is very clear that Catholic elementary instruction followed closely the subject-matter used in Protestant schools in the post-Reformation period, with the exception that the Latin tongue, as the language of worship, held the first place in the work of the schools. However, as was said above, the powerful influence of the Brothers of the Christian Schools brought about the elimination of Latin in this grade of instruction toward the end of the seventeenth century, after which time the common schools were vernacular schools as well.

From what has been seen of the state of popular education in both Protestant and Catholic countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one is led to think that the establishment and the prosperity of the schools of the common people were conditioned and retarded by forces more influential than those connected with the contest over religion. The real reason for the low state of the common schools in the sixteenth century, and for two hundred years later, is to be found in a social philosophy and organization which operated to the disadvantage of the laboring classes, casting them in an inarticulate and insignificant rôle, for which school education was of little importance. Let us turn to a brief examination of the organization of society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is it fair to say that Protestant states, following the Reformation, provided common schools by law, while no provision was being made at that same period for popular education in Catholic lands?
2. Why have Catholic countries been slower than Protestant countries in placing responsibility for education upon the civil administration?

3. Explain the development of teaching congregations in Catholic lands to provide elementary education.

4. What was the principal objective and what were the usual materials of elementary education in Catholic lands following the Reformation? In what respects were these identical with, and in what respects unlike, those which obtained in Protestant countries?

5. Describe the types of schools for the lower classes that existed in Paris in the seventeenth century. What were the causes of competition among the teachers of these grades of schools?

6. Would you say that the organization of the parish schools as described in *L'école paroissiale* was good for the times?

7. Can you identify any aspects of the Catholic theory and practice of education as shown in the foregoing chapter which persist at the present time?

REFERENCES

An extensive account of Catholic education following the Reformation is to be found in A. RAVELET, *Blessed Jean-Baptiste de la Salle*, pp. 13–97, published by Alfred Mame & Sons, Tours, 1888.

CHAPTER V

THE "LOWER CLASSES" FROM 1500–1800

In an earlier chapter mention has been made of the constitution of European society in the early Middle Ages. At that time the influential and privileged classes, in fact the only " classes " as opposed to the " masses," were the nobility or warrior class, and the higher clergy. These classes enjoyed the control and use of the land, which was worked by serfs and villeins. The serfs and villeins had certain legal rights, the most important of which was the right to remain upon the soil and exact a meager living from it, but the surplus returns from their labor went to the lord who enjoyed the tenure of the land. These farm laborers were bound to the soil and passed with it in every exchange of masters.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries, as has been mentioned previously, saw the addition of a new social class, namely, the middle class, or burghers, which developed through a revival of European trade and manufacture. The middle class lived in towns and cities, where they, in course of time, were able to free themselves from the domination of their feudal overlords and carry on an existence relatively free and independent of all save the kings who had risen to power with them. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the middle class had become so important that it was given a place in the representative assemblies called by the kings of France and England. Thereafter its members had steadily risen in power and influence. By the sixteenth century, class divisions within the middle class were very well marked. The richer *bourgeois* were sending their sons to grammar schools for a general education, the possession of which made them eligible to professional careers and to official service in church and state. Between these richer members of the middle class and the lower orders of the nobility little distinction existed. Both could be classified as gentlemen, and the nobility was being constantly recruited from among the middle classes, who tended to purchase lands and establish country seats.

As the highest section of the industrial and commercial population approximated to the outlook and way of life of the nobility, the lowest section, which in point of numbers was by far the largest, came to occupy an almost permanent position of wage servant. By the sixteenth century this development was far advanced. Movement of an individual out of the employed class into the class of employers was altogether unlikely to occur. Industrial and commercial society was definitely and immovably organized in the master-man relationship, with all the implications of superiority and inferiority that inhered therein.

The Domestic System of Manufacture. — Industrial changes which became active in the sixteenth century established a system of manufacture which dominated European industry until power-driven machinery began the displacement of hand labor in the late eighteenth century. This system was known as the domestic system, according to which the raw materials in the industry were purchased by the master or *entrepreneur* and distributed to the workmen. The finished product was collected by the master, and the workman was paid piece wages for his labor. The possible profits of the entire venture were reaped by the master. The workmen under this system lived largely in the country or in semi-rural villages, where they might have a home garden and enjoy the privilege of pasturing a cow and a pig or two on the common. In England the law gave the justices of the peace, meeting in the court of quarter sessions, the right to determine what was a just wage in every branch of industry. Harsh laws against combinations of workmen for better wages and any other improvement in their position, compelled the laborer to accept without recourse what his social betters, representative of the capitalist and land-owning classes, saw fit to allow him. Indeed up to the close of the eighteenth century no English laborer could run away from a distasteful economic condition, because to move from one county to another he had to secure the permission of the local justice of the peace.

For a period of about three hundred years, the artisan class remained in a position of economic inferiority and social submergence and acquiesced in it. Their lot was narrow, but not too hard — at least not hard enough to provoke them to active efforts to improve it, as was the case in the nineteenth century under the factory system.

Dislocations of Rural Life. — The conditions of rural life differed considerably in various parts of Europe. In the Germanies, serfdom continued for the most part until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In France that system had largely disappeared in the sixteenth century, but its last vestiges were not removed until the French Revolution in 1789, up to which time many survivals of the medieval land customs continued to plague the farmers. In England, Spain, and Holland the raising of sheep and the rise of a system of large-farm cultivation had practically eliminated the servile tenure in the sixteenth century. In this new agricultural order some of the one-time serfs and villeins had acquired full title to the lands they lived and worked upon, but by far the greater number of farmers worked " on shares " or as tenants paying a money rent. The economic position of both the farmers who owned their land and those who paid rent was better than that of the serf or villein of medieval custom. The renters, however, were under the disadvantage of always being insecure in their position and liable to eviction. The development of large inclosures for the raising of sheep and, in the eighteenth century, for intensive large-scale agriculture was constantly operating to dispossess tenant farmers and compel them to seek other means of livelihood. By far, however, the least secure condition of rural society was that of the many farm laborers, who worked for hire when work was to be had but who were much of the time on the deadline of economic distress.

The Hopeless Condition of the Working Classes. — In addition to the small tenant farmers and farm laborers, who may be regarded as the rural proletariat, and the laboring classes of the industrial world, the great army of domestic servants, male and female, are to be considered as completing the classification of common people during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. All of them seemed to be caught in their appointed places. Conditions were unfavorable to organization and mass action among the industrial workers looking to a greater share in the profits of their labor. For the domestic servant there was no possibility of a well-paying factory job as a way out of hopeless circumstances, while for the unclassified rural laborer without a trade, hope of bettering his position was slender indeed. So it may be seen that within the great, unorganized, voiceless mass of the common people there could come no effective protest and no force of self-improvement.

Absence of Motives for Universal Education. — Neither did there seem to be any good reason why the well-placed and influential members of society should do anything to make the common people other than they were. There did not exist the political motive of preparing them for the function of voting, for in much of Europe nobody voted, not even the rich and noble. In France down to the time of the Revolution, the government was organized on a basis of absolute kingship. The army and the navy were the king's personal projects used to gain his own ends. The civil administration was simply an extension of the king's power and right to rule and was created at his own will. He called no representative assemblies because they were useless and troublesome. In Germany, excepting a few cities which were free and ruled by the burghers, the same type of absolute kingship obtained that was true of France. The substantial burghers ruled Holland. England, to be sure, had a system of representative government, and after 1689 the middle classes had preponderating power in the lower house of Parliament, the House of Commons. However, up to the passage of the Reform Act of 1832, the right to vote in the counties for members of the House of Commons was limited to those who had an income from land amounting to fifty pounds a year. The justices of the peace, who were the source of all local government in the English counties, were appointed by the king from among the important landowners. Landless folk, common laborers, artisans, and house servants did not vote and it was not seriously expected that they ever would vote, and in so far as they themselves were concerned, they had nothing in particular to vote for.

Nor was there anything in the economic situation that made schooling for the common people imperative. The industrial worker learned his trade through apprenticeship and practiced it by rule of thumb. The farm laborer in the same way acquired the skills applied in agriculture, which did not change in any essential character between the days of Elizabeth and the reign of George III.

Laws of Apprenticeship and the Care of the Poor. — The change from the feudal system of serfdom and land tenure, which has been described above as having made considerable progress by the fifteenth century, caused grave dislocations in rural life. In the areas in which these changes occurred, the countryside was filled with beggars old and young and with sturdy rogues and footpads. At the time this condition was becoming most grave, the Protestant Reformation closed many monasteries and other religious foundations which had been the main support of the poor and destitute. In order to meet the situation, the civil authorities tried to find some means of putting the able-bodied to work and to provide for the needs of the helpless poor.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw many tentative legislative attempts to cope with the situation in England, but in 1601 a statute of Elizabeth established a system which remained without change into the late eighteenth century. This so-called " Poor Law of 1601 " provided that Boards of Overseers of the Poor should be appointed in every parish, who were empowered to levy a tax to take care of the indigent. Workhouses might be erected where able-bodied paupers could be put to work. The sons and daughters of all parents " who could not keep and maintain their children " were to be apprenticed to some useful trade, to agriculture, or to domestic service. The period of such apprenticeship should last until the age of twenty-four in the case of boys, and to the age of twenty-one or until marriage in the case of girls. The American colonies followed English precedent in the matter of compulsory apprenticeship of indigent children and orphans by local civil authorities.

Rationalizing the Unhappy Condition of the Common People. — The official theology and social philosophy of the period rationalized the existing conditions of society and made them appear necessary and right. God was a monarch who ruled the universe, and kings, appointed by God's will and anointed by his grace, were his earthly representatives of sovereignty. Church, nobility, government, law, and the landowning and capitalistic classes were ordained by divine sanction. The poor even seemed to be a part of the divine plan, for did not the Good Book say, "The poor always ye have with you"? They also served as a means of grace to the prosperous and happily situated.

Men thought of the universe as a snug affair, personally guided by Providence. Its apparent deficiencies could be justified as necessary incidents in the comprehensive rationality of its plan. Everything was for the best in the best of all possible worlds, affirmed the philosophy of the courtier Leibnitz, and "Whatever is, is right," said the English poet, Alexander Pope. The earthly life of man was only a short period compared with his unending existence after death. His life here was only preparatory to the life beyond, and whatever sorrows and frustrations it contained for the individual were to be accepted without demur as the special trial which God was making of him. Was not Lazarus, who begged for the crumbs from the rich man's table, more fortunate by far than Dives? For after the short span of this life's sorrows was outrun, did he not go to Abraham's bosom, from where he could see the luxurious Dives in hell begging for a drop of water to cool his parching tongue? Since all things were evened up in the end, there seemed to be no pressing reason for comprehensive social reorganization looking to the elimination of poverty and distress. In his inscrutable providence, God had called the great majority of his children to a hard lot.

The Structure of American Society. — The characteristic classifications of society, except for the nobility, as well as the fundamental social philosophy which dominated European life to the close of the eighteenth century obtained in the American colonies as well. Political arrangements and social rankings approximated, as closely as was possible in the new, raw land, to those of the older and more cultivated mother communities across the sea. The Puritan landowner in New England kept titles of honor and respect for himself and his equals, while the poor laborers and artisans were plain Tom Jones and Henry Brown. Seats were assigned in the meetinghouse with careful consideration of matters of social precedence, while the students of Harvard College, until the eve of the Revolution, were listed in the order of the social standing of their families. The great patroons of New Netherlands lived in baronial style upon their lordly estates along the Hudson. The owners of the wide-reaching plantations of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas exhibited the same pride and enjoyed the same political dominance over their lesser fellows as were common to the squires of Old England. And as towns grew up along the Atlantic seaboard and merchants multiplied in numbers and advanced in prosperity, a typical bourgeois habit of life and consciousness developed among them. After 1700, in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia could be found a middle class identical in their way of life, their pride, and their prejudices with the merchant of London or Amsterdam, or the manufacturer of Lille. In these same towns, during the same period, was developing a professional class of doctors and lawyers and ministers of the Gospel who also belonged as of right to the highest level of colonial society.

Distributed everywhere among the more important folk were the tenant farmers, the farm laborers, artisans, and domestic servants. Many of these had begun their careers in the new land as indentured servants who had bound themselves to masters to work out the advance money which had paid their passage. Many also had been among the criminal or pauper classes in England and had been sent out to the Colonies safely to be got rid of.

In the representative governments which were established in the Colonies, the political supremacy of the land-owning and middle classes was assured by restrictions upon the right to vote. In the eighteenth century a property qualification of some sort for the suffrage was universal. In some of the colonies only adult males possessing real property were allowed to vote. In others the right was restricted to those who owned a certain amount of property, real or personal, or who paid a certain amount of tax. The chief difference between the English county franchise and the colonial restriction lay in the lesser amounts of land or property called for under the colonial laws. In a careful study made by Professor McKinley, it is estimated that the potential voters, that is, the number legally entitled to vote, varied among the colonies from one-sixth to one-fiftieth of the population, while the number actually participating in elections sometimes fell as low as 2 per cent.[1]

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[1] A. E. McKinley, *The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen Original Colonies in America*, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, 1905.

It may be seen from the foregoing that the American colonies reproduced considerable of the class bias which was characteristic of European society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here, as there, the landowners, the middle-class merchants, and the professional classes believed in and exercised their God-given right to have and to hold and to govern, while the landless working classes and the poor of the earth in general were enjoined by the law of sufficient reason and the divine law of God to be subservient, industrious, and contented in their station.

Ways in Which Colonial Society Differed from English Society. — If the general organization of colonial society followed that of Old England, there were, however, some important distinctions. In the first place there was no American nobility and there were no American bishops. And not only were the top rungs of the social ladder missing, but the whole structure was scaled down by reason of the lesser wealth, the crudeness of the new land, and the provincial status of the inhabitants. Above all, there was in the American situation a factor which began its operation almost at the beginning of American settlement and which caused, in the end, a fundamental and far-reaching divergence of the American from the European social philosophy and institutions. That factor was land — land that stretched without limit beyond every newly established pale of settlement and cultivation. In Europe, land was dear and hard to come by. To own land was to be somebody, and to own much land made one to be of the great of the earth. But where land was plentiful and cheap, as it always was upon the American frontier, any man of character and determination could have a farm of his own if he went far enough for it. The result of this condition was the wide diffusion of land ownership, which ultimately annulled the real-property qualification for the right to vote. The full effect of the frontier on American institutions was not felt until the last decades of the eighteenth century; so further consideration of its influence on the American system of education may be postponed to a later chapter.

When all is taken into consideration, the American colonies were more like Old England than unlike it in those social institutions and attitudes which would determine the status of education for the common people. The only marked exception to English educational practices was to be found among the New England colonies, and this grew out of the religious interests of that area as much as out of economic circumstances.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What advantages and what disadvantages were connected with the position of the working class under the domestic system of production as compared with their position under the present factory system?
2. In what ways did the abolition of serfdom improve the position of the workers on the land and in what ways did it work to their disadvantage?
3. Why was it practically impossible for the working classes in the seventeenth century to take any steps looking to the improvement of their condition?
4. Compare the motives which exist in contemporary society for educating the children of the working classes with those existing in seventeenth-century society.
5. Compare the attitude of the official theology and social philosophy of the seventeenth century toward poverty, disease, and distress with our present-day attitude.
6. In what respects did social attitudes and practices in colonial America reproduce those of Old England? In what respects did they differ?
7. On what basis did the educational practices of the Puritan colonies differ from those of the mother country?

CHAPTER VI

THE COMMON SCHOOL IN A SOCIETY BASED UPON PRIVILEGE

It is not surprising that in a society constituted as was European society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the vernacular elementary schools should be despised and neglected. The school of the common people shared the low station of those whom it served. Between the time of the Protestant Reformation and the outbreak of the French Revolution, it showed little change and scarcely any improvement in its subject matter of instruction, in its methods of teaching, and in its modes of discipline.

Against the foregoing generalization it must be said, however, that there were during this period examples of outstanding zeal for the common schools in limited areas, which will be mentioned later, and in the case of the Brothers of the Christian Schools there was a noteworthy development of the mechanics of school management and a radical amelioration of methods of discipline. There were also a number of educational thinkers who made known their conceptions of a more adequate selection of subject matter of instruction and more enlightened methods of teaching, which might have been applied to the betterment of the common schools had the social situation been favorable. But one must be on one's guard against accepting the scattered efforts at improving popular education and the record of fine educational insight which came to the fore during this period as the actuality of the educational situation. It is easy enough to write the history of the common school in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries out of such comforting phenomena and to give the impression that there were considerable movement and improvement taking place during that time in the conditions of popular education. To do so, however, would give an entirely erroneous impression of the real situation. There was at no time before the latter half of the eighteenth century a social situation which furnished the force or an imperious motive for substantial reorganization of the education of the people.

The Supply of Schools. — In the portions of Europe now included in the German *Reich*, in the Scandinavian countries, in Holland, in Scotland, and in parts of Switzerland, provision was made by law during the period under consideration for vernacular schools. Such was also the case in the New England colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. The influence of the Catholic church also was in favor of the establishment of parish schools under the supervision of the priest. But even without legislation enjoining the maintenance of schools, there was in operation, all over Europe, even in the countries named above, the law of supply and demand, according to which schools of great variety, both as to grade and cost, came into existence.

In this connection should be mentioned a type of vernacular school which developed to meet the needs of the lower middle and higher artisan classes. Their children attended elementary schools, where they learned to read and write in the vernacular and in some cases to perform the simpler operations of arithmetic. But in addition to this lowest grade of instruction, schools arose where they could prosper, which offered what was to all intents and purposes an elementary type of commercial education.

It is a capital error to suppose that where there were no schools provided by law, there were no schools at all. To be sure, under such circumstances, there were some communities without schools, but the difference between a state or colony where schools were provided by law and one in which they were not so provided, is not so complete as might be supposed. Conditions were undoubtedly best where the schools were provided by law, especially where, as in many German states, there was also a law making attendance at school compulsory. However, fees, even though low, were almost universally charged in such schools for the instruction given. Even where the children of those unable to pay were admitted free, there was considerable discrepancy between the intention of getting all the children to school and the actuality of universal school attendance.

In respect of free public schools, Massachusetts has an honorable record. During the eighteenth century many towns had eliminated school fees, and after the Revolutionary War the steady drift of the century in the direction of free public elementary schools was made a state-wide condition.

In France, the efforts of the church were supplemented by the desire of individuals to make a living by means of the fees which they could earn by school teaching. In England the supply of schools was left entirely to private initiative. Under such circumstances it was inevitable that many children whose parents were either unable or unwilling to pay their school fees went without any schooling whatever. This condition became so noticeable in the latter part of the seventeenth century that philanthropic agencies became active in establishing charity schools for the very poor. This extremely significant movement will be given separate attention in a later chapter.

The American colonies, with the exception of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, followed the English practice of making no public provision for schools. In the larger towns of these non-school-providing colonies, private schools were set up according to demand in which a wide variety of instruction was offered, and in some cases by teachers of excellent merit, to those who wished to pay the school fees asked.

During this period of educational history in America, the Reformation influences continued to operate. Whereever a community of Dutch Reformed people settled, or a community of Lutherans, or of the German Reformed church, or a community of New England Puritans, or of Presbyterian Scotch-Irish, the interest of the church was exerted in establishing schools. The Quakers also, in connection with their church organization, were assiduous in supplying at least elementary schools. Many communities in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North and South Carolina were thus provided with schools in spite of the absence of any colony-wide legislation.

Sparse Population a Drawback to Education in America. — The greatest drawback during colonial times to the provision of schools was the sparseness of the population. In the backwoods sections of all the colonies, schools were often lacking, or maintained spasmodically as an itinerant teacher put in his appearance. Many a Massachusetts town, under the spur of the law making the provision of a school compulsory, found it difficult at times to procure a teacher. The large plantation system of agriculture in the South also made it difficult to provide community schools. There, recourse in many cases had to be to private instruction, but there were also schools set up as the result of community initiative, often in rude buildings in fields no longer in use for tobacco cultivation. From the circumstances of their location they were called Old Field schools, which were the southern counterpart of the district school of New England or the community school of Pennsylvania. The mode of organizing an Old Field school, which may be taken as descriptive of the means followed in providing any community school, was for the more progressive parents of a community desiring educational advantages for their children to make up a school by canvassing the neighborhood to find how many children could be pledged to attend. A committee was then chosen to secure a teacher, one of whose duties was to collect the tuition, which was frequently paid in terms of corn, bacon, or brandy. In many communities the master received his board by staying at the homes of the various pupils for varying lengths of time. This system of " boarding around " remained a common usage until well into the nineteenth century in rural sections of the United States.

The Teaching Personnel. — At the close of the eighteenth century, as at the beginning of the seventeenth, the teachers of the elementary schools were, by any standard of general education, for the most part, ignorant men and women, often deficient in moral character and almost universally lacking in any special training for the office of school-teaching. The trade of schoolmaster was often combined with the conduct of some other sedentary occupation, such as that of cobbler or tailor, and not infrequently the teacher was a minor official of the church, who assisted in the services and performed such other offices as digging graves and ringing the bell for services. Disabled soldiers frequently were given a living as schoolmaster in lieu of their pension. Elderly women, sometimes of the slenderest educational qualifications, were often employed as much to care for young children and keep them out of mischief as to teach them their letters and the beginnings of the school arts. Schools taught by such women were known as dame schools, and were common in England and the English colonies. The common-schoolmaster was ranked low in the social scale, sometimes among the class of domestic servants. When teaching in his private capacity the children of the lower classes for small school fees, it was to be expected that his social station would not be elevated, but would correspond to his small income and the social position of his clientele.

When Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, a member of the high *bourgeoisie* of Rheims, began the labors which culminated in the establishment of the great teaching congregation called the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, he found, according to his sympathetic biographer, J. Guibert, the greatest repugnance to living in the society of the low-born men whom he tried to fit for better work in the charity schools. That this aristocratic youth, a gentleman by birth and long habit, could give up an honorable position as canon of the Cathedral of Rheims and cast in his lot with the low-born and vulgar elementary school-teachers was incomprehensible to his relatives, who bitterly opposed what they considered a choice so unreasoned and so fanatical. Indeed the prospect of living under conditions of intimacy with the charity schoolmasters was scarcely less repugnant to his own feelings than it was to those of his friends. When he finally became convinced that he could not introduce a desirable rule of life among his followers except by taking them into his own house and living with them, the prospect gave him pause. " What would the world say, above all his family, if he should receive into his own house and admit to his own table, men of a condition so inferior to his own? Would he be able to vanquish his own distaste and live a life in common with these young men of the common people, deprived of that exquisite politeness in which he had been reared? "[1]

As soon as he had executed his resolution of establishing the schoolmasters in his own house, objections began to be made. During the two years in which he had been interested in his schoolmasters, his conduct had appeared eccentric, and folks had kept silent only out of respect to his title of canon and out of regard for the high standing of his family. But when the masters were definitely installed in his house, all the critics were in full cry. They could not understand how a man of good social standing, a member of the Chapter of Canons, could consent to live with those common men. He was lowering himself in admitting to his table ordinary schoolmasters without birth or breeding.[2]

There is, however, a besetting danger of drawing too black a picture of the teaching personnel of the common schools during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Much of the evidence that we have regarding them is provided by reformers who desired improvement and who would be altogether likely to give the worst possible impression of conditions as they were. Undoubtedly there were a great many teachers who were rather important members of the community. In rural regions, in some instances, the schoolmaster was to be held as a man of education, who was frequently called on for services that involved the skills that he possessed. It was not uncommon for the schoolmaster in rural France to serve as the secretary of the community administration and in some cases the school-teacher gave up his work of teaching to become an official of the civil service. The connection of the schoolmaster with the church, although it involved some rather menial services, was not without its element of honor as well. If he was bell ringer and gravedigger, he was also an assistant to the pastor, and participated in an altogether honorable capacity in the church services.

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[1] J. Guibert, *Histoire de S. Jean-Baptiste de la Salle,* Paris, 1901, p. 75.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

Oliver Goldsmith in *The Deserted Village* gives us a picture of a village schoolmaster who enjoyed a good position in the community.

> The village all declared how much he knew;
> 'Twas certain he could write, and cipher too;
> Lands he could measure, terms and tides presage,
> And even the story ran that he could gauge.
> In arguing, too, the parson own'd his skill,
> For even though vanquish'd, he could argue still;
> While words of learned length and thundering sound
> Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around;
> And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew
> That one small head could carry all he knew.

In a poem entitled *Schools of the Borough*, George Crabbe (1754–1832) described five separate schools of a grade below the Latin schools of his native English town. Of the lowest of these, the dame school, he says:

> Yet one there is, that small regard to rule
> Or study pays, and still is deem'd a school;
> That where a deaf, poor patient widow sits,
> And awes some thirty infants as she knits;
> Infants of humble, busy wives who pay
> Some trifling price for freedom through the day.

At this good matron's hut the children meet,
Who thus becomes the mother of the street.
Her room is small, they cannot widely stray,—
Her threshold high, they cannot run away:
Though deaf, she sees the rebel-heroes shout,—
Though lame, her white rod nimbly walks about;
With band of yarn she keeps offenders in,
And to her gown the sturdiest rogues can pin.

There is a second school of slightly higher grade:

Where humming students gilded primers read;
Or books with letters large and pictures gay,
To make their reading but a kind of play —
"Reading Made Easy" so the titles tell:
But they who read must first begin to spell.

A still different school is described as being kept by "another matron, of superior kind," who is preparing boys for the Latin school.

That private initiative had supplied a wide range of educational needs is shown in the contrast between two schoolmasters described in the poem, *Reuben Dixon* and *Leonard.*

Poor Reuben Dixon has the noisiest school
Of ragged lads, who ever bowed to rule;
Low is his price — the men who heave our coals,
And clean our causeways, send him boys in shoals.
To see poor Reuben, with his fry beside —
Their half-check'd rudeness and his half-scorned pride,—
Their room, the sty in which th' assembly meet,
In the close lane behind the Northgate-street;
To observe his vain attempts to keep the peace,
Till tolls the bell, and strife and troubles cease,—
Calls for our praise; his labor praise deserves,
But not our pity; Reuben has no nerves:
Mid noise, and dirt, and stench, and play, and prate,
He calmly cuts the pen or views the slate.
But *Leonard;* yes, for Leonard's fate I grieve,

Who loathes the station which he dares not leave;
He can not dig, he will not beg his bread,
All his dependence rests upon his head;
And deeply skilled in sciences and arts,
On vulgar lads he wastes superior parts.

It is impossible to get a correct impression of the character of the elementary school teachers without taking into account the total social situation in which they offered their services. In such a land as Germany, where it was almost universally provided by law that there should be a vernacular school in every village, the status of the rural teacher, employed for the instruction of peasant children, probably struck a pretty low average, even at the best. But in the larger places there must have been a variation according to the ability and willingness of patrons to pay for the instruction of their children. This would be generally true also in such countries as England and France, where the matter of instruction was left largely to private initiative. Here were schools in which very low fees were charged, and these would be presided over by the less able teachers, who possibly combined weaknesses of character and low breeding with small learning. At the upper end of the teaching scale were to be found men and women who were better in every way and who charged larger fees and drew upon a better clientele. In the towns and cities there must have been a wide range in the teaching personnel, with a generally low average, while the rural sections had to be content with such teachers as they could procure.

In the American colonies, during this period, the teaching personnel in the common schools was extremely mixed. In the New England states it was a common procedure for college students to teach school during the college vacations or to drop out for a year or two to earn money with which to continue their higher education. Many of the schools were taught in the winter by men who followed the vocation of farmer in the summer, while the summer school, attended principally by the younger children, was taught by a woman from the neighborhood. School keeping was followed by many as a stop-gap preparatory to a profession of some other occupation. The itinerant schoolmaster, often a Scotchman or an Irishman, was common in the middle and southern colonies. He was a bird of passage, whose short tenure of his successive positions was more than likely to be due to his intemperate habits or other weakness of character. There were also some indentured schoolmasters who, as servants, worked out their passage money by teaching in private families or in community schools. At the other extreme of the scale were to be found men and women who remained year after year in the same place and continued to draw a satisfactory clientele for their private efforts of school keeping.

Professor Robert F. Seybolt has thrown a great deal of light upon the conditions surrounding private instruction during the colonial period in a study entitled *Source Studies in American Colonial Education: The Private School.*[1] In that work it is shown that the offerings of the private schoolmasters in the coast towns covered a wide range of subject matter, including not only the elementary skills, but also modern languages, business subjects, practical engineering and mathematics, and social accomplishments. While Professor Seybolt's concern in this study was principally with the higher subjects of private instruction, the conclusions to which he has come are applicable in large measure to the teaching of the lower branches as well. The private teachers were competing for patronage in an open market and hence obliged to satisfy their public. Under such conditions it is likely that the character of private instruction in localities where there were no public schools reached about the same level as that of the public schools where such existed. Seybolt sums up his consideration of the private schoolmaster by saying: " The private schoolmasters in colonial America should not be condemned without fair trial. Records at hand will not permit a satisfactory comparison with the teachers in the town schools. It may be said of both that some were well qualified, and some were not."[1]

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[1] University of Illinois, Urbana, 1925.

Where School Was Kept. — The *locale* of instruction varied as greatly as did the teaching personnel. No general rule can be laid down to describe the circumstances of location, construction, and equipment of schools, except that, on the whole, very inadequate provision was made for housing. In such countries as made the supervision of the common school a function of the local pastor and classified education as an aspect of ecclesiastical administration, the school was often erected in close proximity to the house of worship. In many cases there was no separate building for the school, and a part of the church was utilized for instruction. But there were also frequent instances where the church school was taught in the house of a tradesman or peasant.

In the Puritan colonies in the seventeenth century, the school invariably was to be found at the town center near the church, but as population came to extend into remote parts of the town, the center school became more and more inaccessible to the children living at a distance. As a result the town school came to be passed around for periods of time among the various parts, or " districts " of the town. At first these "moving" schools were held in a farm kitchen, or some other part of the farm premises, but in the course of time the division of the school came to be an accepted fact, and each district was given its share of the school money raised in the town and was expected to expend it in the maintenance of a school. Under this system, which was well-advanced before the third quarter of the eighteenth century, many districts erected their own schools.

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[1] University of Illinois, Urbana, 1925, p. 92.

Many communities outside of New England erected schools to be occupied by such teachers as might be employed, and the teacher was compensated by the fees of the pupils who attended. The Old Field schools in the south were thus provided, and many communities of the middle states made this initial start toward the provision of educational opportunities for their children. Under pioneer conditions these buildings were made of logs, filled in with mortar, with a huge fireplace at one end. A rude desk, fastened to and facing the walls of the room, and benches made of a split log with stick legs for the pupils, and a rude desk for the teacher, constituted the school equipment. In the towns, the school buildings were better made and possessed more comfortable and adequate equipment, but the eighteenth-century expectations of a school were moderate indeed.

The Internal Economy of the School. — As to what was taught in the common schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries little need be said except that the curriculum continued to be that which the religious interests of the sixteenth century had established. (See pp. 27 and f.) The main concern was to teach children to read, and that mainly with reference to religious uses and in books of devotion. Writing was taught incidentally to reading and spelling, and some attention was given to elementary arithmetic. But the elementary school of the period was predominantly a reading school.

The method of individual instruction was all but universal. The pupil learned his alphabet and then passed on to learning to read by spelling out the words. Rote memorization with not much thought of meaning seems by common testimony to have been the principal exercise of the pupil, while the teacher's whole function in the learning process seemed to be the hearing of lessons as the individual children recited from the book, with his attention divided between that activity and the demands of keeping order and mending quill pens. There was little or no appeal to interest and apparently no effort to awaken curiosity or cultivate intelligent and thoughtful learning.

In keeping with the mechanical instruction given in the school went a repressive and cruel discipline. Ears were pulled and boxed, bare knuckles made havoc on young skulls, and what unaided nature could not provide in the way of offensive agencies of punishment was supplemented with the aid of the whip, the birch, and the ferule. Human ingenuity invented such tortures for the unruly pupil as kneeling on peas, kneeling on a piece of wood with a sharp edge, holding up a leg or holding out an arm until the extreme point of torture and exhaustion was reached. In addition to the punishments that hurt the physical body were those that were intended to disgrace the culprit. For this purpose there was a dunce's cap, or a dunce's stool, or a dunce's ass in any completely equipped schoolroom, while placards designating the child as disorderly, stupid, or idle and worn on his back, were expected to work their wonders of moral improvement. Penalties of every grade and description matched the unlimited possibilities of defection from a rule of good order which consisted in sitting still and attending to an uninteresting, because meaningless, task.

The Limited Objectives of the Common School. — As one considers the school of the common people as it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it becomes apparent that about all that it was expected to do was to teach the child to read and to write, to give him a very elementary knowledge of arithmetic, and to make him familiar with the dogmas and the devotional exercises of his religious faith. There is little or no evidence that it was expected, by means of these exercises of the school, to enlarge the pupil's outlook over the world, to improve his intelligence, to make of him a better citizen, or even to create out of the raw material which he provided a finer, freer human being. That this was true, not only of the poorer schools, but of the best systems which the period afforded, can be seen from an examination of two much praised efforts at school reform.

The *Schulmethodus* of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. — In order to restore the prosperity of his little principality, which had suffered grievously from the Thirty Years' War, Duke Ernst of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha issued, in 1642, a program of common-school reform which was remarkable for the century in which it appeared. It asserted the principle of compulsory attendance at school for all children over five years of age, and prescribed a fine for parents and guardians who did not send their children. It provided for close supervision of the school by the officials of the church, and set forth in detail the materials and the methods of instruction and other matters relating to the conduct of the schools. One decided innovation was present in the curriculum, in that considerable attention was to be given to instruction in natural and useful sciences; but, even so, the curriculum did not depart in any striking way from the characteristic religious emphasis of the age. The instruction in science was added, but the school remained predominantly a school of reading and memorizing religious lessons.

In the lowest class the children were to learn Bible verses, the Lord's Prayer, the articles of faith, the Ten Commandments, and morning and evening prayers. In the intermediate class, Luther's catechism was to be committed to memory. There was to be instruction in writing, and in addition, subtraction, and the multiplication tables, while all the rest of the time was to be given to religious lessons. In the highest class, the instruction was to comprise religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, music, and composition, with special emphasis upon church doctrines and regulations.

The title of Chapter VI of the *Schulmethodus*, which is " The Method of Teaching the Catechism Understandingly," causes a smile when one reads further that " every word is to be learned by heart, as Luther advised " and that *in the upper classes it was to be explained!* The children of the school were to be assembled on Sunday morning and marched to the church, and they were to be expected to write down an outline of the sermon. The teacher of the school was admonished to attend the Sunday sermons and live by them. He was also to lead a godly, quiet, retired life, and to be respectful and obedient to his superiors.

Common-School Reforms Proposed by Frederick the Great. — Still another noteworthy effort at common-school reform, which exhibits not only the school defects that were to be shunned, but also the goals that were to be achieved, is to be found in the *General Regulations for Village Schools*, issued in 1763 by Frederick the Great, King of Prussia. Frederick is known as one of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century. He was a most aggressive monarch, who greatly extended the boundaries of his country by means of his skill as a general and as the organizer of efficient fighting forces. In the interest of national strength he also reformed and strengthened the administration of the Prussian government. As a part of his policy of internal improvement, he desired the rehabilitation of the folk schools. In the official greeting by means of which the *General Regulations for Village Schools* were introduced, it was observed that "an education both scientific and Christian to true fear of God and in other useful things" was the essential foundation for the well-being of all orders of society. It was ordered that the *Regulations* be observed to the end that "the ignorance so dangerous and unbecoming to Christianity may be prevented and remedied, so that in the years to come better and more skillful subjects may be instructed in the schools."

The *Regulations* reiterate the provision for compulsory attendance of all children between the ages of five and thirteen or fourteen, which had been enjoined in Prussian laws of 1711 and 1719, but which evidently had failed of proper observance. Schools were to be maintained in the winter for six hours and in the summer at least three hours daily. The amount of the school fees was prescribed and where the parents of children were too poor to pay the fees, on application to the local pastor and magistrates, the fees were to be paid out of a school fund collected in the church for the purpose on the annual school Sunday. The teachers were required to keep an exact record of school attendance and of the conduct and application of the children.

The passages of the document which deal with the qualifications of schoolmasters are eloquent in their implications. Those who have the appointment of teachers in their hands are instructed to use all diligence so that in the future only thoroughly qualified persons succeed to the position of school teacher. The teacher is to be of a religious character. He is not to engage with others in maintaining an inn, he is not to sell beer and brandy in drinking places or meddle in any such affairs as may hinder his school efficiency and give the community and the children motive for offenses and licentiousness. He is admonished not to frequent alehouses, and also not to furnish music for others at meals or at other times. No one was to be allowed to teach who had not been officially examined by the school authorities and given a license to teach. All " hedge schools " kept by unlicensed masters were again abolished by law, in spite of their perennial power to exist in the face of legal interdict. Teachers might not put the children in school at performing their domestic labors nor might they busy themselves at their trades or other businesses during the customary and appointed school hours, meanwhile leaving their wives to look after the school, although they might, while observing their school hours, secure the assistance of their wives for the little children when the school was large.

The official subject matter of instruction and the pedagogical methods to be employed are given at length in the official rescript, which is set forth below.[1]

> The lessons shall follow the plan herewith given:
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> 1. A song is sung which the teacher slowly and distinctly says over first and then sings with all the children. Every month, however, only one song, to be named by the preacher and not to be too long or too seldom used, is to be chosen and sung so that large and small shall learn it through frequent singing. In the singing the teacher is careful to see that all are singing. For that reason no

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[1] Translated from Lewin, *Entwicklung der Preussischen Volkschule.*

child is allowed during this exercise to keep his song book before him and to sing out of it, because he will not pay strict attention, will leaf through the book, and not learn the hymn at all. If he wishes to sing out of a book he can do so at home.

2. After the singing comes prayer. Either the schoolmaster says the prayer himself or has a child in the reading class read aloud slowly and distinctly a prescribed morning prayer suitable for children. At the same time all the other children must sit still and listen. Thereafter they all pray in unison, seriously and reverently, the prayer they have learned by heart. A boy reads aloud slowly and distinctly the monthly psalm and the exercise is completed with the Lord's Prayer. If during the prayer, children come to the school, they shall stand at the door until the prayer is completed, because otherwise they would disturb the rest of the children.

3. After the prayer, a selection from the catechism which follows in order, is explained, and of a length that makes it possible to go through the entire catechism in six weeks. It shall be done as follows: The selection which is to be explained must be said over by some of the children until it is well learned by most of them. Then are taken up, first the words and then the meanings that are contained in the words by the method of question and answer and confirmed with quotations from the scriptures. Finally, it is shown how the children should apply to their own lives the truths of the lessons. For the little children, the simplified catechism is used; for the larger ones, the catechism with commentary is used, both by the preacher and the schoolmaster.

In the remaining forenoon hours, reading, spelling, and the A-B-C are taken up.

1. In the first half-hour the children able to read take up one or another chapter of the Bible or the New Testament and read, first all together, then a certain group, then one or another reads alone, whomever the master calls upon, so as to keep them all at attention. At first all spell together and later singly.

2. In the next half-hour the regular spelling class has its spelling exercise, at first in concert and then individually. Finally a word is put on the board and those points are gone over which are essential in connection with it for spelling and reading. In this exercise the older pupils will be given practice in turning up passages in their Bible and finding songs in the songbook, will learn their weekly memory verses and become familiar with the names of the books of

the Bible and their order, so that they may be more skillful in turning up passages.

3. The A-B-C pupils during this hour sit or stand with their little A-B-C tablets before the larger chart learning every day about two letters, not in regular order. They shall often be asked by the teacher during the reading and writing of the other children to say out their two letters and show them upon their tablets. As soon as they know the letters they begin spelling.

In the third hour of the morning, there shall be writing and spelling and, at the same time, learning of the letters.

1. The larger children write during the first half-hour and the second half-hour their work is corrected for them. In order that no child should be passed over in the correction, the teacher keeps a list of the writing-pupils which shows the order of their writing books, and where he left off the day before, there he begins on the following day. In that way each child has his work corrected several times a week. Let this be especially noted that always the left page of the paper in the writing book must be corrected. Then the pupil must again write on the right page of the writing book the same copy which was written on the left in such a way that he no more repeats the mistakes which the teacher corrected on the left and that he improves according to the corrections.

2. During the time when the larger pupils are writing, the spelling and A-B-C pupils shall be proceeded with in such a way that the former are given practice in spelling and the latter are made familiar with the rules of reading; they shall have explained to them the difference between the sounded and the silent letters. During the correcting of the copies of the older pupils, now and again will be recited to them the weekly memory verses. Toward the end of the third morning hour, the pupils are called up for a prayer and, if the teacher so orders, in addition the monthly psalm is read or some part of the monthly hymn, and then the children are dismissed quietly from school to go home. The teacher looks after them to see how they act on the way so that out of giddiness or mischief they do not destroy all that has with such pains been done for them.

In the first afternoon hour the children reassemble under the oversight of the teacher and after some stanzas have been sung and the monthly psalm read, then the meaning of the books of the Bible is explained, and alternately, the little book for the instruction of children in the country is taken up.

In the other afternoon hours they study for the first half-hour a selection from the catechism alternately with the related selections from the scriptures, all taken in regular sequence. This may be done according to the method described in the third part of the *Berlin Reading Book* through writing down the initial letters or according to the following plan:

1. The schoolmaster reads them the selection which they are to learn by heart a number of times in succession slowly and distinctly; meanwhile the children have opened their catechisms and read silently after him. Then the children shall read the selection several times in unison, while the smaller children sit still and listen to them.

2. When such occurs, the teacher reads from one comma to the next, from the piece to be learned by heart, has the children say it over after him, and has them repeat it until they know it. Then he goes on. In this manner the Bible quotations in the catechism are learned, for all children learn at the same time. As concerns the expositions of Luther in the catechism, however, these are learned only by the older children through more frequent repetition. On such occasions the middle-aged and younger children sit still and only listen attentively. When the older children have said over the quotation several times together, the teacher calls on one or another of them and has him say the selection and find out whether and how he has comprehended it.

3. Finally each group says its weekly memory verses, the older children a rather long one, the middle-sized children a medium long one and the little children a very short one. By this means the children learn each week a selection from the catechism and the related Bible quotations, also three proverbs and every month a psalm and a hymn. In the other half-hour, the older pupils read, the middle-aged ones spell, and the younger study their letters, as shown above.

In the third and last afternoon hour, part of the time is given over to writing and part to arithmetic, while at the same time the middle class is exercised in spelling and the youngest in the A-B-C. According to this plan the day's work is conducted.

On Saturday the forenoon is spent as follows: During the first hour the catechism is not studied, as on the other days, but the children repeat the proverbs, psalms, and hymns learned, of which the schoolmaster must keep a list. Then he tells them, alternately,

> out of the Old and New Testaments from week to week, a Bible story, accompanies the same with questions, and briefly shows the children how to apply them. With the older pupils, Bible charts and explanations by them can be used to a better understanding of the scriptures. Thereafter the teacher does not proceed to read in the Bible or the New Testament, but he reads the part of the Gospels and Epistles which will be expounded the following Sunday. Then they write in their tablets, which is corrected for them by the teacher. At the close of school, the children are heartily exhorted to keep the Sabbath well, to sit quietly and reverently in the church and to hear and retain God's word for their salvation.

The *General Regulations* prescribe a nation-wide list of approved texts, among which the only relief from exclusively religious materials is found in a reading book which gave "general information concerning God, the world and mankind," and a "little textbook" for the instruction of village children in all sorts of necessary and useful facts. The *Regulations* confirm the local pastors in their function of school-inspector and enjoin them to visit the schools "twice every week," while the higher officials of the church are likewise commanded to observe the general condition of the schools and faithfulness of the pastors in their school-duties.

A further example of seventeenth and eighteenth century school methods and materials at their best is found in the rules governing the conduct of the schools of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, which will be taken up in the following chapter.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the effect upon the picture that one gets of the condition of popular education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the space given to discussing that period is largely devoted to describing the "high spots" of education?
2. What general characterization applies to the common schools for

the period from 1500 to 1800? What was the social situation that worked against any substantial improvement of that grade of education?

3. What is the fallacy in thinking that where no schools were provided by law, none existed?

4. What special conditions operated against the development of common schools in the American colonies?

5. Prepare a concise formula that describes the teaching personnel in the common schools in the period 1500–1800.

6. Describe briefly the change that took place in Massachusetts during a century and a half of colonial history in the matter of the location and housing of the common school.

7. What support can you find for the following statement: the common school from 1500 to 1800 was essentially a school where children were taught to read.

8. Ask your parents and grandparents about the punishments that were in vogue in the schools which they attended. Is there evidence that seventeenth century methods of discipline continued long after 1800?

9. In what respects would you say that the educational regulations of Duke Ernst of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha represented improvement over the conditions generally prevalent in Germany in the seventeenth century? Was it a really modern school program?

10. What do the items of the *General Regulations for Village Schools* promulgated by Frederick the Great indicate regarding the current conditions which they were intended to improve?

11. Do the *General Regulations for Village Schools* represent innovations in method and curriculum, or are they rather an effort to improve the operation of the Reformation conception of elementary education?

REFERENCES

The student will find in E. P. CUBBERLEY, *The History of Education*, a useful account of school conditions in the 17th and 18th centuries, pp. 437–449. Also in S. C. PARKER, *The History of Modern Elementary Education*, pp. 66–93.

A description of the common school in Germany before 1800 by Adolph Diesterweg is quoted in E. P. CUBBERLEY, *Readings in the History of Education*, pp. 387–389.

A great deal of light is thrown on the conditions of private instruction in colonial America in two works by PROF. ROBERT F. SEYBOLT, *The Evening School in Colonial America*, and *Source Studies in American Colonial Education: The Private School.* They are published as Bulletins No. 24 and No. 28, respectively, by the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

A translation of the *Schulmethodus* of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha is given in Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, Vol. 20, pp. 576–584.

CHAPTER VII

CHARITY SCHOOLS FOR THE VERY POOR

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw an important development of educational philanthropy which took the direction of supplying schools for the children of the very poor. Naturally this movement had its greatest development in countries where there were no schools under public auspices, as in England and France.

The Social Situation Which Prompted the Founding of Charity Schools in England. — In England, as has been said before, the government had followed a hands-off policy in the matter of establishing schools or of calling for their establishment. Outside of the Latin grammar schools, most of which were partly maintained through foundations, the supply of education followed for the most part the law of supply and demand. Where parents were willing to pay for the education of their children, private parties came forward to conduct such schools as were called for. From the humblest dame school, teaching the slenderest rudiments of education, to the city schools in which writing, arithmetic, and accounting were taught to the children of the lower middle classes, there came to exist a wide variety of schools devoted to teaching the vernacular on higher or lower levels.

The fees asked in the most elementary of these schools were extremely small, as was consistent with the poor quality of the instruction given in them, but even so, there were large sections of the working classes who were too poor or too indifferent to take advantage of the means of education offered for their children. Particularly in the towns and cities was noticeable the large number of children who never went to any school whatsoever and who were growing up to be beggars and vagabonds, to fill jails and adorn gibbets. Large groups of children wandering through the streets and alleys of the cities, engaging in petty thefts, begging, swearing, and even in concerted acts of violence, were without salutary home influence and beyond the reach of organized religion. They were growing up illiterate, depraved, and irreligious.

When the Puritan Commonwealth came to an end in England in 1660, there ensued under the restored Stuart kings a period of moral laxity and religious indifference. A general reaction seemed to have set in against the sour sanctity of the Puritan régime. Looseness in public manners and private morals was the order of the day and even the Established Church went through a period when religious fervor rendered the priests and dignitaries of the church suspect as to their sanity or their loyalty. Catechizing of children was neglected in the churches and there seemed to exist over all England a general religious apathy. At the same time that the Established Church of England was indifferent to its office, the land was filled with sectaries of various sorts who went among the people trying to convert them to new and strange beliefs. Among the many sects which flourished in England in the late seventeenth century, one of the most numerous and most conspicuous was the Quakers, who professed to find in an " inner light " the sole means to religious welfare and salvation after death. To the Quakers all the external forms and establishments of religion were useless in the matter of the soul's good and of course this attitude made them opponents of the Church of England.

Toward the close of the seventeenth century, however, there occurred a revival among the clergy and lay members of the Church of England. Certain men of quickened conscience saw the future of England and of Christianity at stake in the failure of the church. They began to organize societies for the improvement of manners, for combating the heresies of the day, and for inducing others to join with them in the more active practice of prayer, Bible reading, and church attendance.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. — One of the most influential among such societies was the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which was founded in London in 1698 largely through the efforts of the Reverend Thomas Bray. The Society saw the most immediate promise of helping the situation through the printing of catechetical and other religious literature to be used by the parish preachers in the religious instruction of children. Hardly less important seemed to be the supply of devotional and religious literature to pastors for their own stimulation and self-help, and the establishment of lending libraries of religious books for general circulation. From the outset the conduct of missionary work in the colonies of Great Britain was one of the most definite purposes of the new society; but in 1701 this part of the work was specially organized under a branch Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which came to be familiarly spoken of as the S. P. G. just as the parent society was abbreviated to the letters S. P. C. K. However, throughout its entire history the S. P. C. K. has been active in missionary work both among the colonial offshoots of Great Britain and in other lands as well.

At the first meeting of the Society it was " resolved that we consider tomorrow morning how to further and promote that good design of erecting catechetical schools in each parish in and about London." Eight days later the following form of subscription to the support of charity schools was adopted:

> Whereas it is evident to common observation, that the growth of vice and debauchery is greatly owing to the gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian Religion, especially among the poorer sort. And also whereas Christian virtue can grow from no other root than Christian principles, we whose names are underwritten . . . being touched with zeal for the honor of God, the salvation of the souls of our poor brethren, and the Promoting of Christian Knowledge among the poor of this Parish, do hereby promise to pay yearly during pleasure . . . such respective sums as we have herewith subscribed for and towards the setting up a school within this Parish for teaching poor children (whose parents are not able to afford them any education) to read and write, and to understand the Church Catechism. . . .[1]

The predominantly religious interest of the Society is further shown in the language of the first circular letter which it sent out, in which it is said:

> The visible decay of Religion in this Kingdom, with the monstrous increase of Deism, Profaneness, and Vice, has excited the zeal of several persons of the best character in the cities of London and Westminster, and other parts of the nation, to associate themselves in order to consult together how to put a stop to so fatal an inundation.
>
> The cause whereof, they believe in great measure to arise from the barbarous ignorance observable among the common people, especially those of the poorer sort, and this to proceed from want of due care in the education of the Youth, who, early instructed in the Principles of true Religion, seasoned with the knowledge of God, and a just concern for their everlasting welfare, could not possibly (with the ordinary assistance of God's good Spirit) degenerate into

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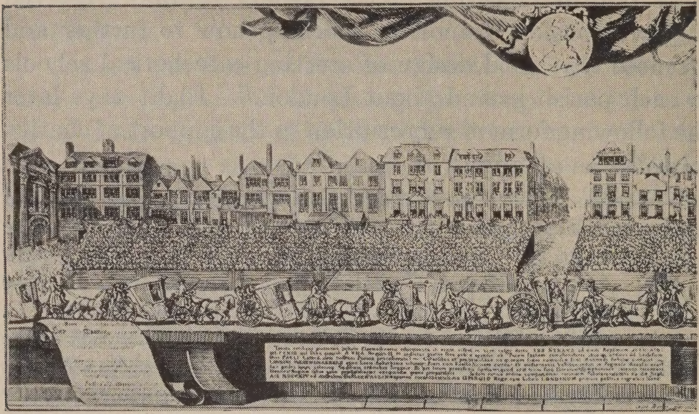
[1] W. O. B. Allen and E. McClure, *The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, London, 1898, p. 27.



Children of the Society's Schools in the Strand at the
Taken from W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *Two*
Christian Knowledge.

> such vile and unchristian practices as they now generally do. To remedy these Evils, which cry aloud to Heaven for vengeance, they have agreed to use their best endeavors to incline the hearts of generous and well-disposed persons to contribute toward the erecting of Schools in these Cities, and the parts adjacent, for the instruction of such poor Children in Reading, Writing, and in the Catechism, whose Parents or Relations are not able to afford them the ordinary means of Education, and as they look upon this to be the most effectual method to train up the poorest sort in sobriety and the knowledge of Christian Principles, so they assure themselves that the good effects which may be wrought thereby will prove a powerful argument to engage others in better circumstances to make so necessary a provision for their children.[1]

It is to be expected that with so definitely religious a purpose as the Society had in its work, the choice of teachers should turn largely on the matter of moral and religious qualifications. The teacher was to be: "a

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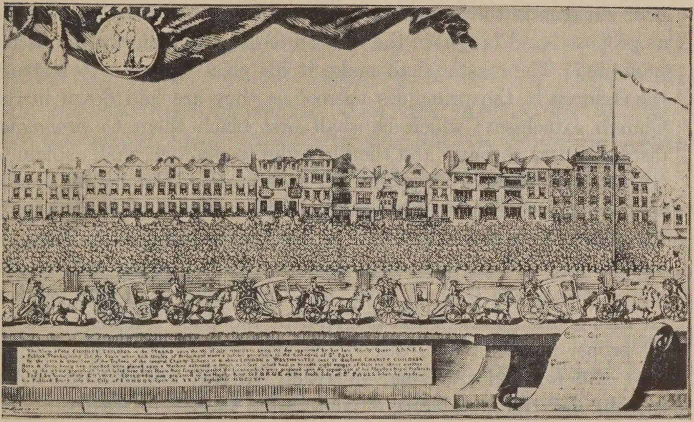
[1] W. O. B. Allen and E. McClure, *The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, London, 1898, pp. 136–5.



PUBLIC THANKSGIVING FOR THE PEACE OF UTRECHT, JULY 7, 1713
Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting
London, 1898.

member of the Church of England, of a sober life and conversation, and not under the age of twenty-five years; one that frequents the holy Communion; one that hath good government of himself and passions; one of a meek temper and humble behavior; one of a good genius for teaching; one who understands well the grounds and principles of the Christian religion and is able to give a good account thereof to the minister of the parish, or ordinary, on examination; one who can write a good hand and who understands the grounds of arithmetic; one who keeps good order in his family; and one who is approved by the minister of the parish (being a subscriber) before he be presented to be licensed by the ordinary."[1]

The regulations for erecting charity schools go on to say: "To the end that the chief design of this school, which is for the education of

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[1] See *An Account of Charity Schools in Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1711, p. 4.

> poor children in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion, as proposed and taught in the Church of England, may be the better promoted: The master shall make it his chief business to instruct the children in the principles thereof as they are laid down in the Church catechism; which he shall first teach them to *pronounce* distinctly and plainly; and then in order to practice, shall explain to the meanest capacity by good exposition approved of by the minister; and this shall be done constantly twice a week that everything in the catechism may be the more perfectly repeated and understood; and afterwards shall more largely inform them of their duty by the help of the *Whole Duty of Man;* and the master shall take particular care of the manners and behavior of the poor children; and by all proper methods shall discourage and correct the beginnings of vice, and particularly lying, swearing, cursing, taking God's name in vain, and the profanation of the Lord's Day."[1]

The secular phases of the instruction in the schools of the Society are dismissed with two scant paragraphs which read as follows:

> 4. The Master shall teach them the true spelling of words, and distinction of syllables, with the points and stops, which is necessary to true and good reading and serves to make the children more mindful of what they read.
>
> 5. As soon as the boys can read competently well, the master shall teach them to write a fair, legible hand, with the grounds of arithmetic, to fit them for services or apprenticeships.

In spite of the modest literary and scientific objectives of the charity schools, there developed some opposition to them on the grounds that they were drawing the children away from domestic service and agriculture. To meet this suspicion the society recommended to its correspondents in 1719 " to use their utmost endeavors to get some kind of labor added to the instruction of children in the Charity schools, as husbandry in any of its branches, spinning, sewing, knitting, and other useful employments; to which the particular manufactures of their respective countries may lead them: *This will bring them to an habit of industry, as well as prepare them for the business by which they are afterwards to subsist in the world, and effectually obviate an objection against the Charity schools, that they tend to take poor children off from those servile offices which are necessary in all communities, and for which the wise Governor of the World has by his Providence designed them.* (Italics by the author.)[1]

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[1] See *An Account of Charity Schools in Great Britain and Ireland,* London, 1711, p. 5.

Development of the Schools of the S. P. C. K. — In spite of some objections that were raised to the project of opening charity schools, the movement gained powerful support among philanthropically inclined men and women. In 1704, six years after the foundation of the Society, there were fifty-four charity schools in and about London and Westminster or within a radius of ten miles thereabouts, in which were being taught 1386 boys and 745 girls. Up to that time over £3000 had been given to the work. In addition to these schools there were thirty-four which had been set up in more distant places. These varied in size and expense, from a school in which the curate of the parish would teach all poor children to read, write, and know the catechism, to a school like the one maintained at Cambridge, where 260 poor children were taught and subscriptions amounted to over £200 a year.[2] By 1743 there were 1461 schools operating under the auspices of the Society and caring for 24,629 children. By the middle of the century the number of children being cared for in charity schools reached the number of about fifty thousand, but thereafter the fortunes of the S. P. C. K. somewhat declined.

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[1] *A Sermon Preached at St. Sepulchre's Church,* April 5, 1733, being the yearly meeting of the children educated in the charity schools and about the cities of London and Westminster, London, 1733, Appendix A, p. [10].

[2] See Allen and McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

The expense of a school for fifty boys came to about £75 a year in London in 1704. This sum provided a master, a schoolroom, books, fuel, and some clothing. The cost of a girls' school of the same size was £60 a year. Although this was a moderate sum for the education of so many, the work to be done by the Society became increasingly beyond its powers. Toward the end of the eighteenth century new and less expensive means were found to give some smattering of religious and literary education in Sunday Schools to the children of the poor while the early years of the nineteenth century saw the development of the monitorial system of education. This was organized by the National Society as the school branch of the work of the S. P. C. K. The later developments of philanthropy in English education will be taken up in a subsequent chapter.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. — In 1701 there was formed in London, largely by the members of the S. P. C. K., a branch society the special function of which was to take care of misssionary efforts in the British colonies. The bad condition of the religious interest in the colonies, joined with the keen state of religious controversy at the time, made the Society's appeal a popular one. Between 1701 and 1780 the sum collected for the work of the society amounted to £392,804, two-thirds of which was expended in the American colonies.[1]

The Society employed missionary preachers and teachers and supplied religious literature. In all there were sent to the American colonies during the eighteenth century 309 preachers, of whom nearly half, 149 labored in the middle colonies, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. The New England colonies had 84 of these missionaries sent to them, much to the distaste of the Congregationalists established there. The remainder went to the southern colonies. Most of the Society's schoolmasters were recruited in the colonies, for the records do not show that more than nine were sent over between the founding of the Society and 1831.

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[1] See W. W. Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the S. P. G.*, p. 30.

The qualifications of schoolmasters, the materials of study, and the aims of instruction in the S. P. G. followed closely those which have previously been described as characteristic of the work of the S. P. C. K. In the colonies, however, the schools were not exclusively charity schools. In his careful study of *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the S. P. G.*, Dean W. W. Kemp shows that in that colony the proportion of non-paying scholars was one-fourth to one-half of the enrollment. The Society's bounty was usually enough to pay the tuition fees of ten or eleven pupils.

During the period 1710–1776, the Society continuously supported in the province of New York between five and ten elementary schools, with a usual enrollment of about forty pupils. This represented the greatest educational effort of the Society in any one colony. A number of schools were supported for shorter or longer periods in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. The Society experienced the same difficulty in securing competent teachers who were at the same time "sober and of good report," as was common everywhere in the colonies during the same period.

The Charity School Movement in France. — In France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, charity schools developed, as in England, in response to the condition of the children of the very poor. In spite of the fact that there was a considerable supply, perhaps even an oversupply, of schoolmasters in the cities for those children whose parents were able or willing to pay the small fees demanded for instruction, there remained a great number of neglected children who never went to school and who received no instruction, either in reading and writing, or in the church doctrines. The evil courses which these neglected children fell into prompted energetic churchmen and philanthropic persons in general to establish schools, in which no tuition fees were charged, for the exclusive service of this social class.

To meet this need of free schools for the children of the poorest part of the population, the Catholic regions of Europe had recourse to religious associations. The founding of religious associations for teaching in France began in the last years of the sixteenth and the early years of the seventeenth centuries. The earliest activity was in the founding of secular congregations of women, without solemn vows and not living in cloisters, devoted to the education of girls. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century at least a dozen of such teaching congregations of women had been established in France, and were teaching poor girls in cities and towns and preparing schoolmistresses for work in the smaller villages. It was not, however, until the last half of the seventeenth century that charity schools for boys were established in any great number, largely because of the difficulty of finding schoolmasters who were willing to undertake the work, since competent schoolmasters took by choice the fee-paying elementary schools. For a short time the efforts of Father Demia of Lyons to establish a supply of charity schools for the poor were successful, but with his death the work fell down. It was only with the work of Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, that the effort to provide free instruction for poor boys permanently prospered. This great organizer of charity schools found a situation ripe for his genius. There was a widespread recognition of the need for charity schools, and a well-developed sentiment in favor of them among churchmen and philanthropic persons. M. de la Salle created the corps of teachers who were necessary for the realization of a widespread system of charity schools.

The Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. — Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, member of a wealthy family of the high bourgeoisie in Rheims, became interested in the fortunes of a charity school for boys in his home city while he was a canon of the cathedral there. As more schools of the same sort were established in Rheims he found himself drawn more and more into their supervision. Almost at once he became convinced that the only force that could supply the right kind of teachers in any adequate numbers was an appeal to missionary zeal. He further believed that the only force that could hold the charity school teachers to their discouraging and ill-paid labors was the régime of a strictly organized religious community. As a necessary condition of his success in the work of preparing charity schoolmasters he resigned his honorable position in the Cathedral, gave up his property, forsook his high social connections, and founded a religious community of teachers of charity schools, of which, during his lifetime, he remained the actual, if not always the titular, head. His project took definite shape in 1684 with the foundation of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

Although from the beginning of their novitiate the members of the Institute followed a strict religious rule, with every hour of the working day accounted for either by their teaching duties, by religious exercises, or by supervised recreation, the only vow which they were allowed to take at first was that of obedience, and this was subject to annual voluntary renewal. Young men were received as novices into the Institute, living the community life and receiving training in the work of teaching, and after a period of trial were for the first time allowed to take the vows of the members. In addition, a preparatory school, or *petit noviciat*, under the direction of one of the oldest brothers was established in close connection with the Institute. These youth in the novitiate, accepted at the age of fourteen years or over, lived under a modified religious rule and were taught the catechism, and reading and writing perfectly. When they attained the age of sixteen or seventeen they were admitted as members of the Institute and employed in schools. It was only after 1725 that members of the Institute took the more rigorous vows of " chastity, poverty, obedience, and life-long service, and of giving free instruction to the poor."

The Growth of the Institute. — The work of this Institute met with a great deal of opposition, but, in spite of all, the devotion and ability of its leaders procured for it a steady growth. By 1700 there were eighteen houses with 165 brothers engaged in teaching five thousand pupils. By 1750 the number of houses had increased to ninety-five, with 662 brothers teaching twenty-four thousand pupils. In 1790, just before its suppression by the Legislative Assembly in 1792, the Order was maintaining 127 houses, with about one thousand brothers giving instruction to thirty-six thousand pupils.[1]

Despite its enforced exile from France, the Institute was kept alive in Rome, and upon the signing of the Concordat between Napoleon I and the Pope in 1801, it was revived in France. During all of the nineteenth century it played a conspicuous rôle in French elementary education. Not only did the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools perform in itself a conspicuous educational work, but it provided the model for many other teaching congregations of men and women which played an important part in the progress toward public elementary education in Catholic countries.

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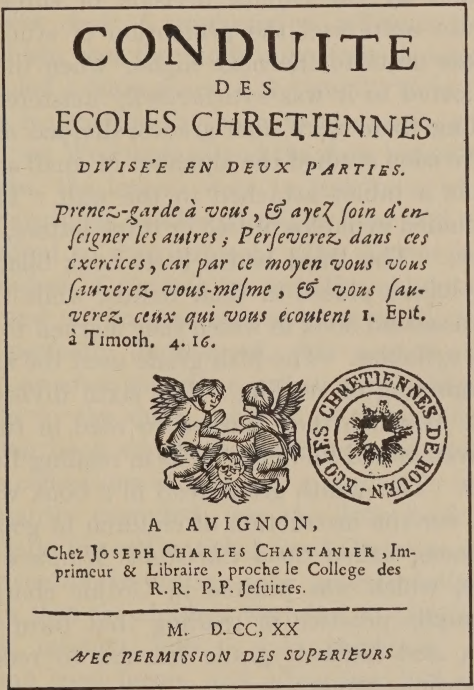
[1] Figures taken from A. Ravelet, *Blessed J. B. de la Salle*, Tours, 1888, p. 473.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools were missionary teachers whose mission it was to give free instruction to children of artisans and the poor. By means of secular instruction they prepared the children of modest condition to make their earthly lot honorable, and by means of the religious instruction which they gave and the virtuous habits which they engendered, they raised the moral level of the working classes and taught them how "to deserve the just compensation of celestial happiness." Breaking all ties which held them to the world, whether rich or poor, distinguished or humble, these missionary teachers renounced their family names and became Brother Timothy or Brother John. They were held to their vocation by the ever-present influence of a strict religious rule. Clothed in a simple vestment, which proclaimed their occupation as being with the poor, they went two by two through the streets with averted look and prayers upon their lips to conduct schools in the lowest parts of teeming cities. And for that vocation they brought a preparation following the rules of the Institute's *Conduct of Schools*, which made them among the most competent elementary teachers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed the schools conducted by the Brothers were so efficient that there was a constant tendency among parents who could pay for the instruction of their children to send them to the schools which were intended for the poor. Against this practice the association of masters of the "little schools" made legal protest, which in some places was sustained, but in other places not.

The Brothers also, in certain of their schools, responded to the needs of the lower middle classes by teaching the more advanced commercial subjects, such as penmanship, accounting, arithmetic, and drawing. In this connection they encountered the opposition of the guilds of writing masters. In spite of such conflicts, perhaps it might better be said because of them, the right of the Brothers of the Christian Schools to maintain pensions, or boarding schools, for paying pupils, and to conduct intermediate schools for business training, was finally admitted in France. However, the fact that the work of the Institute was eventually thus extended must not obscure the more fundamental fact that its original, and its greatest, work in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was the instruction of poor children who would otherwise have gone without the rudiments of a literary education and the inculcation of moral and religious habits.

The "*Conduct of Schools*." — The work of the Institute from the beginning was the training of teachers for elementary schools. This took place according to a plan which gradually matured in the mind of the founder, and was finally reduced to definite form by M. de la Salle in 1695, under the title *Conduct of Schools*. For twenty-five years thereafter these rules remained only in manuscript form and each novice copied them out for himself as a means of becoming better acquainted with them. It was only in 1720, after living proof of their value for their purpose, that they were reproduced in printed form.

The success of the schools of the Christian Brothers may be attributed in large part to the fact that the teachers went into those schools thoroughly prepared for the work which they were expected to do. A further factor in their efficiency lay in the fact that the individual teacher worked under supervision and with the coöperation of the local director and visiting inspectors. Perhaps the outstanding pedagogical innovation introduced by M. de



CONDUITE
DES
ECOLES CHRETIENNES
DIVISE'E EN DEUX PARTIES.

Prenez-garde à vous, & ayez ſoin d'enſeigner les autres ; Perſeverez dans ces exercices, car par ce moyen vous vous ſauverez vous-meſme, & vous ſauverez ceux qui vous écoutent 1. Epit. à Timoth. 4. 16.

ECOLES CHRETIENNES DE ROUEN

A AVIGNON,
Chez JOSEPH CHARLES CHASTANIER, Imprimeur & Libraire, proche le College des R.R. P.P. Jeſuittes.

M. D.CC, XX
AVEC PERMISSION DES SUPERIEURS

TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST PRINTED EDITION OF THE *CONDUITE DES ÉCOLES CHRÉTIENNES*, PUBLISHED IN 1720.

By courtesy of Brother A. Philip, Assistant Superior of Maison St.-Joseph, Lembecq-lez-Hal, Belgium.

la Salle in his *Conduct of Schools* was the adoption of simultaneous or class instruction to take the place of the individual instruction that was all but universal in the common schools of the time. The instruction by classes was accompanied by the careful division of subject-matter into definite units and the promotion of students from one of these units to the next higher when the subject-matter allotted to it was satisfactorily mastered.

In reading there were nine grades, divided as follows: The first division studied the alphabet in small and capital letters from a tablet attached to the wall. The second division studied syllables of two or three letters, also from wall tablets. The third had a little book filled with all sorts of syllables placed in their hands, while the fourth grade had a second book in which they learned to spell and to read by syllables. The fifth grade used the same book for the beginning of reading. The sixth division had a third book in which they learned to read in turn. The seventh division had its first lessons in reading Latin from the psalter. The eighth grade read in a book written by de la Salle for the instruction of children in good morals and politeness, called *Good Christian Manners* (*Civilité Chrétienne*), which was printed in Gothic characters to give the pupils practice in reading that form of print. The ninth, and highest, grade learned to read manuscripts of various kinds.

The mastery of writing was likewise divided into a number of learning units, six for round letters and six for Italian, for each of which grades specific and detailed prescriptions of procedure were given.

The method of conducting the classes aimed at securing the complete and constant attention of all the members. The teacher called on one pupil to read and all the others followed the reading in their books. All were to read quietly what the reader read loudly, and from time to time the teacher was to call on one of the pupils to take up the reading at the right place.

The curriculum of the ordinary school of the Christian Brothers included reading, writing, and arithmetic, with a great deal of emphasis on religious instruction. The catechism and the more important devotional exercises occupied a large share of the pupil's time. On ordinary days instruction in the catechism was given for a half hour; on Wednesdays and the days before important church days, the lessons were to last for a whole hour; while on Saturdays and holydays, an hour and a half was to be devoted to that subject. The master is enjoined in the *Conduct of Schools* to test the children on each question, and not to pass to a new one until the last one has been perfectly understood. He was to explain the questions one after the other and to apply them as much as possible to the daily conduct of the children. The only reading book which the children used, excepting of course the collections of religious materials in which they were constantly exercised, was the little book prepared by de la Salle himself entitled *Good Christian Manners.*

The instruction in writing took an extremely practical direction in that the children were put to copying promissory notes, receipts, bills of sale, contracts, and other business and legal forms, and after they had acquired a certain degree of proficiency they were expected to make out such papers for themselves. Further exercise in writing was provided in having the children try to reproduce in writing all of the previous week's catechetical instruction which they could remember.

The discipline of the schools of the Christian Brothers was in sharp contrast with the noisy violence of many seventeenth and eighteenth century schools. The pupils' movements were reduced to strict order as far as possible, and where signals could take the place of spoken directions, they were employed. Printed placards, each expressing some desirable factor of school order, were hung upon the walls, and the teacher finding a pupil at fault would silently point to the silent monitor which might recall to him his duty. The early editions of the *Conduct of Schools* named the rod and the ferule as means of punishment, but they were seldom resorted to, and no edition of this work after 1777 made mention of them. Rewards, consisting of religious sentences, pictures, plaster figures, books, and rosaries, were largely used to secure application and good order.

The strength of the system of instruction established by de la Salle lay largely in the efficiency which it promoted in teaching the school skills, in inculcating the dogmas of religion, and in making the child letter-perfect in the formulas of devotion. There can be no doubt that it accomplished these ends effectively.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Do the materials of the foregoing chapter relate to the same period of educational history as those of Chapter VI? If there is any difference with respect to time, what is it?
2. What special circumstances in the life of the late seventeenth century led to the establishment of charity schools?
3. What were the primary objectives in the minds of the founders of the S. P. C. K? Did these motives differ in any way from those which prompted the increase of educational effort in Protestant countries following the Reformation?
4. Would you think of the educational program of the S. P. C. K. as representing a democratic conception of popular education?
5. What sectarian motives entered into the activities of the S. P. G. in the American colonies?
6. In what respect was the situation with regard to the education of the common people the same in France as it was in England?

7. How was the organization of the Brothers of the Christian Schools different from that of the S. P. C. K.?

8. Would you agree that the system of instruction employed by the Brothers of the Christian Schools was much better than those which generally obtained in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? If so, to what sources is its superiority to be attributed? On what grounds, if any, would you criticize it?

9. Were the educational principles on which the system of de la Salle was based the same as those which obtain in the best schools in the United States and Europe today?

10. Do you personally know of any institutions which are at present being conducted by the Brothers of the Christian Schools?

REFERENCES

E. P. CUBBERLEY, *Readings in the History of Education*, published by Houghton Mifflin, contains interesting materials relating to the schools of the S. P. C. K., pp. 377–385.

The standard history of the S. P. C. K. is the one written by W. O. B. ALLEN and E. MCCLURE, entitled *The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, London, 1898.

The work of the S. P. G. in the American colonies and particularly in the colony of New York, is described in W. W. KEMP, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the S. P. G.*, published by the Teachers College Bureau of Publications.

For the life of Jean-Baptiste de la Salle and the work of the Brothers of the Christian Schools the authoritative English source is A. RAVALET, *Blessed Jean-Baptiste de la Salle*, Book II, published by Alfred Name & Sons, Tours, 1888. This book, however, is contained in few libraries and is out of print. The volume by MRS. R. F. WILSON, entitled *The Christian Brothers*, and published in London by Kegan Paul, Trench and Company, 1883, is hardly more available. A volume entitled *St. Jean-Baptiste de la Salle and "The Conduct of Schools,"* edited by F. de la Fontainerie, will soon be available in the McGraw-Hill Education Classics.

CHAPTER VIII

A NEW CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD AND OF HUMAN SOCIETY

As we have followed the development of the elementary school down toward the close of the eighteenth century it must have become evident that there was little hope of substantial improvement in that institution so long as the influential classes of society kept on thinking as they did about the common people. The school of the lower classes was a mean affair simply because the social group which it served was regarded as necessarily and permanently inferior. In God's providence it had been ordained that there should be poverty and vice and misery, and that some should be set apart from the enjoyment of comfort and ease to do the rude hard work of society. Where elementary schools had been established by public agencies it was not contemplated that they should be the means of other than improving the common folk in their present station in life; while the establishments of philanthropy safeguarded the possibility that the knowledge of reading and writing should take the children of the poor out of the servile classes and make them into clerks, — that it should lessen the supply of self-effacing, deferent house-servants and willing, laborious artisans and farm-laborers. Education was desirable for the children of the poor so long as it made them more God-fearing, more respectful of authority, and less liable to criminal courses of conduct. Education might be used to improve the common people so long as it helped them " to know their place."

In that same society, however, the organization of which was described in an earlier chapter (See Chapter V) as providing the explanation of the low and unprogressive character of elementary education in the two centuries following the Protestant Reformation, there was taking form during that same period a different conception of the world and of human institutions which was destined to rock that society to its foundations. The new conception was not to have an easy nor an immediate victory. Indeed we have not at the present time realized its full implications for social institutions and education. But its power has been felt from the eighteenth century to now and day by day it goes on to new conquests.

The Influence of Scientific Method upon Religious Beliefs. — Ultimately this new conception of the universe and of the nature of human institutions rested upon the new knowledge of the physical world which men came by in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When Copernicus in the year 1543 substantiated his theory that the earth was not the center of the heavenly order, but only a planet following its orbit around the sun, he put in motion a train of scientific discovery that made the earth seem a very small part of the infinite system of space. Methods of scientific investigation were developed that made it possible to discover the reign of natural law in the constitution of the molecule and in the revolutions of the stars. Many thoughtful men came to discover God anew as the great First Cause of a universe infinite in extent and adjusted through a system of law that was perfect in its operation and unfailing in its presence. They came to abhor the thought of a God as orthodox religion conceived him — a God who ruled in a paternal and personal way over the earth, who subordinated all things in the universe to the service of that little grain of space, who interfered in the operations of natural law with miracles, and who even allowed the elect of the church to turn aside the laws of nature by reason of their importunities.

This new religious outlook — for it is to be thought of as a new religion rather than as unreligion, as the orthodox would have it — separated a belief in God from a belief in the Bible as the divine revelation, and in the church as the means of salvation. To many thoughtful minds the church became a social phenomenon, as any other human product, and subject to criticism. The divine sanction of existing social institutions was denied and they were compelled to undergo critical examination and justify themselves on reasonable grounds. Even the very nature of man himself had to be understood anew. In other words, the habit of "creative thinking" as applied to the physical world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, came to be applied in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the structure of human society and the nature of the individual.

A New Conception of Social Institutions. — The critical mind, turned upon existing social institutions, found them extremely unsatisfactory. Many usages and conventions of society had been advantageous in earlier times and under different conditions, but now, holding on only through inertia and the power that goes with possession, they were shackles upon development and bars to human welfare. The conviction took root and spread that institutions were not sacrosanct, but were social habits or conventions which had been adopted for useful social purposes. When institutions no longer fulfilled their original purposes they were subject to reconstruction in the interest of better efficiency. The seventeenth and eighteenth century leaders of thought had much to say about a " social contract " which was the foundation of civil government. Governments, they thought, arose out of common necessity and were founded upon a common agreement to transfer certain individual prerogatives to the sovereignty of the state in order that the general average of individual welfare might be raised. When governments ceased to provide for the general welfare, and became predatory or inefficient, it was within the natural rights of the entire body of citizens who had originally alienated their sovereignty by agreement, to take it back, and out of their common will erect a new government that would serve them more adequately.

A New Concern for the Common People. — When men began to think that the purpose of institutions was the increase of human welfare, their logic carried them on to feel an unwonted concern for the common people. While it would be a mistake to suppose that all eighteenth century social philosophy was philanthropic, it is true to say that one of its most prominent notes was its humanitarianism. The laboring classes were seen to be the support of the comfort and safety of the well-to-do, and in a spirit of fairness many thoughtful persons became convinced that the common people were being badly paid for the substantial social services which they performed. They had all the hardships of existence and no reward beyond a dull, bare, and precarious living. Upon them bore most harshly the inequities of unreasonable institutions. In their ignorance and spiritual sluggishness they were scarcely human.

The eighteenth century rediscovered the common people and saw them in a new light. A considerable section of thoughtful opinion said that the laboring classes were not what they were by the will of God, but as the result of unjust and stupid social arrangements. It was the fault of the social order that there should be so much poverty, suffering, disease, vice, and ignorance, and it was the business of the government to correct these conditions and raise the lower classes to a position of greater security, greater intelligence, and greater happiness. Indeed, if the purpose of social organization was to secure the greatest amount of common welfare, the most immediate and the largest social task lay in improving the fortunes of the most numerous part of society. The formula of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" could not be realized without counting in the working classes.

The Notion of Progress. — Enlightened opinion in the eighteenth century not only believed that the lot of the poor should be improved, but what is perhaps more important, it believed such improvement to be possible. The traditional viewpoint had accepted society as necessarily what it was, as standing still, and it pointed to the life after death as the possible equalizer of earthly fortunes. As against this static conception of society, the thought grew that society had changed, that it would change in the future, and that it was the chief moral business of well-intentioned persons to make it change rapidly and for the better. The idea of *progress* displaced the notion that things were as they were because God had willed them so.

Mankind was enlisted as the active auxiliary of the God who ruled Nature by his divine laws in the reform of human society according to the laws of "natural reason." The increase of knowledge and the enlarged control over natural forces which had been the fruit of scientific investigation in the sixteenth century and thereafter had been responsible for the conviction that progress had taken place, while the possible application of new knowledge in the betterment of the human lot held out the promise of indefinite improvement. Men saw society moving on to conquests over poverty, crime, disease, and ignorance. The change for the better in the individuals of each generation would be accompanied by the better adjustment of institutions to human welfare and growth, and on this pyramid of mounting virtue and intelligence the human race could at last attain a state of perfection which would surpass the visions of the most active imagination.

The reigning psychology of the eighteenth century made this vision of an indefinitely self-perfecting society seem to be not at all unreasonable. It held that the mind of the individual at birth was a blank, — a clean sheet upon which experience was free to write its impressions. What a child became at maturity was dependent upon the impressions that had been made upon the receptive tablet of his mind. In the original all minds were alike. The differences of character and of intelligence which adults exhibited were the result of the differences in their education. Given complete control over the education of a child one could count upon the finished product. Since this was the case, society could control its future by means of education and through the universal establishment of the right kind of schools it could guarantee the progress which enlightened opinion believed to be desirable and possible. At no other time in Western history have the reigning philosophy and psychology given so good grounds for complete faith in the powers of unaided instruction to accomplish social reform as was true in the eighteenth century.

Cosmopolitanism in Eighteenth-Century Thought. — It deserves further to be recalled that the humanitarianism of the philosophic minds of the eighteenth century was cosmopolitan in its outlook. It pointed out the senselessness of wars between nations as only increasing the misery of the participants on both sides, and called upon governments to outlaw the appeal to arms for the settlement of international disputes. It opposed human slavery everywhere. It called for the amelioration of the cruel and unintelligent penal systems which were common to all lands. Finally, it opposed the absorption of the individual in national interests and loyalties. The all-compelling vocation of mankind was the improvement of *mankind*, not the advantage of a given nation. To the extent to which the national system of political organization was compatible with that larger mission of racial welfare, it might be made use of, but when it introduced selfish competition and warfare to improve the position of one nation to the disadvantage of another it was lessening the sum of human good and acting as the enemy of human progress.

The picture of eighteenth-century social philosophy and educational ideals drawn above is, of course, oversimplified. Individual thinkers accepted, in some cases, certain parts of the beliefs and attitudes which we have attributed to the age, and rejected others. John Locke, for instance, was one of the most influential thinkers of the period. His political philosophy formed the basis for the far-reaching political changes of the late eighteenth century in France and the American Colonies. His psychology and theory of knowledge may be thought of as the starting point for the philosophical speculation of the eighteenth century. His sane and sensible remarks on education did much to establish a new and more reasonable attitude toward child-nature and the processes of moral and intellectual development. And yet Locke did not have the advanced conception of a school for the common people which many others of the eighteenth-century philosophers had. When, as Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, he prepared in 1696 a plan for educating the children of paupers, his notions were hardly more than a systematizing of the practices of the English laws for the care of the poor. He proposed a system of working schools at which the children should be employed and kept, and certainly the regimen which he proposed would not have given the pauper children overweening notions of their social station. "What they have at home from their parents is seldom more than bread and water, and that, many of them, very scantily too. If thereafter care be taken that they have each of them their bellyfull of bread daily at school, they will be in no danger of famishing, but, on the contrary, they will be healthier and stronger than those who are fed otherwise. Nor will this practice cost the overseers any trouble; for a baker may be agreed with to furnish and bring into the schoolhouse every day the allowance of bread necessary for all the scholars that there are. And to this may be also added, without any trouble, in cold weather, if it be thought needful, a little warm water-gruel; for the same fire that heats the room may be made use of to heat a pot of it." After the children had reached the age when they could be apprenticed they were to be given out in the ordinary way to masters and husbandmen who would teach them useful occupations.

The exception, in certain particulars, of John Locke's attitudes from those which have been described as the common spiritual outlook of the eighteenth-century liberals, is illustrative of the way in which individuals might differ in detail from the general tendency and yet in large measure agree with it and contribute to its power.

A great liberal of the eighteenth century summed up the characteristic outlook of his era as follows: " . . . There prevailed a general knowledge of the natural rights of man; the opinion that even these rights are inalienable and imprescriptible; a decided partiality for freedom of thinking and writing; for the enfranchisement of industry and commerce; for the melioration of the condition of the people; for the repeal of penal statutes against religious non-conformists, for the abolition of torture and barbarous punishments; the desire of a milder system of criminal legislation; of a jurisprudence that should give to innocence a complete security; of a civil code more simple, as well as more conformable to reason and justice; indifference as to systems of religion, considered at length as the offspring of superstition, or ranked in the number of political inventions; hatred of hypocrisy and fanaticism; contempt for prejudices; and lastly, a zeal for the propagation of truth. These principles, passing by degrees from the writings of philosophers into every class of society whose instruction was not confined to the catechism and the scriptures, became the common creed, the symbol and type of all men who were not idiots, on the one hand, or, on the other, assertors of the policy of Machiavellism. In some countries these sentiments formed so nearly the general opinion, that the mass of the people seemed ready to obey their dictates and act from their impulse."[1]

It will appear in the sequel that Condorcet was over-optimistic of the power which the liberal viewpoint which he described had over the minds of men and societies in the late eighteenth century. The program of human betterment which he saw as being so near realization has been postponed in large part even to the present. The weight of habit and custom, the natural inertia of personal advantage, and the sluggishness of the common imagination proved to be too heavy a drag upon the soaring hopes of eighteenth-century humanitarianism. New problems and difficulties which Condorcet did not anticipate have delayed the progress of society toward his ideal. And yet in spite of slow progress and long detours, the Western World has followed and is following today as a guiding star the brilliant humanitarian hopes of eighteenth-century liberalism.

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[1] Condorcet, *Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind*, translated from the French, Philadelphia, 1796, p. 203, f.

Let us now turn to consider the implications of this new conception of the world and of human society for the education of the common people.

Questions and Exercises

1. What was there in the attitude of the ruling classes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which worked against any substantial improvement in the common schools?
2. How did the disturbance of religious faith, which some of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century thinkers experienced, have an indirect influence upon the way in which the common people were regarded?
3. How did a change of attitude regarding the source and nature of social institutions have a bearing on the problem of what society owed to the masses?
4. Do you believe that there is such a thing as "progress" if the whole history of human society is taken into account? Does our modern society act as if believing that progress can take place? What are the social implications of a view of society as "static" as compared with those which obtain when one thinks of society as "progressing" or capable of making progress?
5. Name the aspects of eighteenth-century liberalism which the liberal-minded and thinking portion of modern society accepts.

6. What parts of the eighteenth-century liberal program remain to be realized?

7. What forces operated in the eighteenth century and what forces are operating today to retard the realization of mankind's best vision of social reform?

REFERENCES

J. H. RANDALL, JR., *The Making of the Modern Mind*, published by Houghton Mifflin, is a recent and stimulating treatment of the intellectual developments and the changes in social theory which came about in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Chapters XI to XV relate to the subject-matter of the foregoing chapter.

Chapter IX

A CHANGED VIEWPOINT REGARDING THE EDUCATION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that the march of Western thought to its revolutionary conceptions of the eighteenth century had its origin in the discovery and application of a new scientific method in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The increased knowledge of nature's laws and operations which became current in the seventeenth century created high hopes of a day when mankind would possess an almost complete control over the means of sustenance and comfort. The new resources which scientific knowledge was to place at the command of society would make possible the reorganization and improvement of human institutions. The seventeenth century produced a number of Utopias in which the authors let their imagination run riot in creating societies in which the imperfections and injustices of the society which they knew were absent and in which men lived secure, happy, and virtuous. Francis Bacon, in *The New Atlantis*, described a blessed island where the studious cultivation of science in a great experiment station of all the practical arts brought peace and plenty.

John Amos Comenius. — Closely allied in his methods and attitudes to the seventeenth-century Utopias is John Amos Comenius [1592–1671], who spent much of his life in exile following the bitter persecution by the Catholic government of Austria of the Moravian sect, of which he was a bishop. Comenius combined in his mental constitution a religious fervor of the Reformation type and a faith in the possibilities of scientific method and research which rivaled that of Francis Bacon. In his religion he was orthodox, following the Bible as closely as did Calvin, and full of zeal for the complete devotion of the human being to God's worship and service. To him the chief end of earthly life was to prepare for the life to come, and the aim of all knowledge was to reveal God more fully to the adoring worshiper. But in his faith in science, in his vision of the social regeneration which was to be accomplished through the spread of knowledge, and in his choice of materials and methods of instruction, he may be placed as representing the most advanced social and educational outlook of the eighteenth century, or even, in many ways, of the twentieth. His educational philosophy is given in a book entitled *The Great Didactic.*

Comenius did not believe *nature* to mean " the corruption which had laid hold of all men since the Fall," but rather the first and original condition to which, as a starting point, mankind must be recalled for its regeneration. The voice of nature is " the universal Providence of God . . . which never ceases to work in all things; that is to say, which continually develops each creature for the end to which it was destined. . . . Man . . . is naturally fitted for the understanding of facts, for existence in harmony with the natural law, and above all things for the love of God." [1]

" Not the children of the rich or of the powerful only, but of all alike, boys and girls, both noble and ignoble, rich and poor, in all cities and towns, villages and hamlets, should be sent to school," because " all who have been born to man's estate have been born with the same end in view, namely, that they may be men, that is to say, rational creatures. . . . Now we do not know to what uses divine providence has destined this or that man; but this is certain, that out of the poorest, the most abject, the most obscure, He has produced instruments for His glory. . . . Nor is it any obstacle that some seem to be naturally dull and stupid, for this renders more imperative the universal culture of such intellects. The slower and the weaker the disposition of any man, the more he needs assistance that he may throw off his brutish dullness and stupidity as much as possible. Nor can any man be found whose intellect is so weak that it cannot be improved by culture. . . . Why, therefore, should we wish that in the garden of letters only one class of intellects, the forward and active, should be tolerated? Let none be excluded unless God has denied him sense and intelligence. . . . Nor can any sufficient reason be given why the weaker sex . . . should be altogether excluded from the pursuit of knowledge. . . . They also are formed in the image of God, and share in His grace and in the Kingdom of the world to come. They are endowed with equal sharpness of mind and capacity for knowledge (often with more than the opposite sex), and they are able to attain the highest positions. . . . Why therefore should we admit them to the alphabet, and afterwards drive them away from books? Do we fear their folly? The more we occupy their thoughts, so much the less will the folly that arises from emptiness of mind find a place.

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[1] All quotations are taken from M. V. Keatinge, *The Great Didactic,* A. & C. Black.

"If any ask, 'What will be the result if artisans, rustics, porters, and even women become lettered?' I answer, if this universal instruction of youth be brought about by the proper means, none of these will lack the material for thinking, choosing, following and doing good things. . . . Every one ought to receive a universal education, and this at school. But do not therefore, imagine that we demand from all men a knowledge (that is to say, exact or deep knowledge) of all the arts and sciences. This would neither be useful of itself, nor on account of the shortness of life, can it be attained by any man. . . . It is the principles, the causes, and the uses of all the most important things in existence that we wish all men to learn. . . . For we must take strong and vigorous measures that no man in his journey through life, may encounter anything so unknown to him that he cannot pass sound judgment upon it and turn it to its proper use without serious error."

Comenius's Plan of Schools. — Comenius thought of the schools as "the workshops of humanity since it is undoubtedly through their agency that man really becomes man." He outlined a system of education which should embrace the first twenty-four years of human life, at the conclusion of which period he thought mental growth to stop. These years were to be divided into four equal parts of six years each. From birth to the age of six, the child was taught in the home circle to which Comenius gave the name of *the School of the Mother's Knee.* In this period of his education the child was to make a general and preliminary acquaintance with all the fields of human knowledge. The identification by the child of water, air, fire, rain, snow, etc., was thought of by Comenius as his introduction to physics. "The rudiments of astronomy will consist in knowing what is meant by the heavens, the sun, the moon, and the stars and in watching their rising and their setting daily." As "the child learns the nature of mountains, valleys, plains, rivers and villages he is laying the foundation for later studies in geography. They will receive a training in mechanics if they are permitted or are actually taught to employ their hands continually; for instance to move something from one place to another, to arrange something else in one way or another, to construct something, or to pull something to pieces, to make knots or undo them, and so forth; the very thing that children of this age love to do. As these actions are nothing but the efforts of an active mind to realize itself in mechanical production, they should not be hindered, but rather encouraged and skilfully guided."

In asking and answering questions the child is laying the foundations of reasoning, which may be aided by teaching him to ask sensible questions, give direct answers, and not to wander from the point at issue. As the child learns to speak the mother tongue correctly, he is mastering an essential part of grammar. But it is particularly in the field of morals that the education at the mother's knee needs to be conducted with energy and wisdom, for it is during the first six years of the child's life that his fundamental moral attitudes are likely to be established. In the matters of temperance in eating, cleanliness, reverence for superiors, obedience, truth-telling, justice, charity, industry, self-control in speech, patience, politeness, and good manners, no other period is so important if the practice of these virtues is to become second nature. Finally, the religious attitudes of the child should be made habitual in the home environment. For the aim of parents and nurses a handbook was projected by Comenius in which suggestions were to be made regarding the most suitable means and occasions for presenting to the child the desirable information or for inculcating the wished-for moral attitudes and habits. For the children a picture book, illustrating the whole round of nature, human occupations, and social functions, should be prepared.

The second period of education, from six to twelve, was to be followed by all boys and girls in the *Vernacular School*. This grade of education was to be universal, because its subject-matter was essential to the development of all human beings into their real nature as human beings. Moreover, it was too early at the age of six to determine for a boy what his vocation should be and whether he should be numbered among the liberally educated class or not. " Nor should admission to the Latin School be reserved for the sons of rich men, nobles and magistrates, as if these were the only boys who would ever be able to fill similar positions."

The curriculum of this school was to embrace, on a higher level, the entire circle of knowledge and moral relationships which had been developed in the earliest home experiences of the child. It was intended to give a liberal education in the arts and sciences for the common people, and for that reason the language of instruction was the vernacular and Latin was not taught. The curriculum was to include reading of print and manuscript, writing and composition, counting, practical mensuration, singing and, in cases of special aptitude, more advanced musical instruction, psalms and hymns committed to memory, the catechism and Bible passages, the principles of morality drawn up into rules and illustrated by everyday examples, as much economics and politics as was necessary to enable the pupils to understand what they saw daily at home and in the state, the general history of the world, the most important facts of mathematical, physical, and political geography, and the most important principles of the mechanical arts, " both that they may not be too ignorant of what goes on in the world around them, and that any special inclination toward things of this kind may assert itself with greater ease later on."

In order to make it possible that so much subject-matter might be covered in the six years allotted to the vernacular schools, the children were to be graded in six classes. Specially prepared books were to be provided for each class which would contain all the subject-matter to be learned by that class and which would win the children by their interesting and attractive form. Instruction, moreover, was to be combined with amusement in order that the children might take pleasure in learning serious things which would be useful to them later on. The school day was to be short, — not to exceed two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon, with the remaining hours to be spent either in domestic duties at home or in recreation.

At the conclusion of the work of the vernacular school gifted children were to attend the Latin School, where Latin was to be mastered, and where a "sufficient acquaintance" with Greek and Hebrew was to be made. In addition to the learned languages, there was to be carried on advanced study of the entire range of liberal arts and sciences. At the conclusion of the six years which were allocated to the work of the Latin School, those who wished to become teachers, civil officials, and members of the professions were to attend the highest institution of learning, the University. However, the story of the elementary school does not lead us into these higher stages of Comenius's ideal system of education, so we may dismiss them with mere mention.

Comenius's Vision of Universal Education. — As one considers the ideal of universal education to which Comenius gave expression, as well as the practical proposals through which it was to have embodiment, one cannot fail to be impressed with his soaring vision and his sound good sense. His recognition of the importance of the early years of childhood for intellectual, and particularly for moral, development, is supported by the best wisdom of our own day, while the specific objectives of that early period of education might be followed now without any substantial modification. As for the vernacular school, it represents an ideal of popular education to which we have hardly as yet attained — that is to say, attained as an ideal, let alone as a practical achievement. For his belief in what popular education should be and his faith that it could be realized in human society, Comenius stands out, not only as a prophetic figure in the seventeenth century, but as an inspiration to all leaders and teachers of the common schools everywhere and for all time.

Comenius's Insight into the Art of Teaching. — Hardly less remarkable than his noble conception of popular education was the insight of the great Czech educator into the art of teaching. In setting forth his rules for teaching, Comenius tried to follow what he considered to be a scientific method. He would observe the procedure of nature in respect to some process and the imitation of nature in the arts, such as building, painting, or husbandry. He would then point out the deviation of school practices from the wisdom of nature and the practical arts and propose the correction which the examples of nature and the arts suggested. It is needless to say that such a method of deducing rules of educational method was far from scientific. At best the relationships between natural and educational processes were only analogous, and at worst not even that. Comenius simply made such choice of natural processes and the procedures in the practical arts as seemed to bear out the educational principle which it was his intention to enunciate. His wisdom as a teacher was not derived from scientific method, but rather through his experience and his insight, and then it was mechanically, and, if one would tell the truth, sometimes trivially and arbitrarily, assigned to its original in nature and the arts.

But, however that may be, Comenius made a great many most enlightened suggestions for the improvement of teaching, and some that were not so inspired as well. He insisted that the first stage of learning should concern itself with things not words; that children should be "taught first to understand things, and then to remember them, and that no stress should be laid on the use of speech or pen until after training in the first two points"; that examples should come before rules; that all school materials should be carefully graduated to the needs and abilities of the learner, and in such a way that the earlier studies should prepare for and throw light upon the later; that learning should proceed from the general to the particular; that the use of everything taught should be continually kept in view; and that all instruction should be based upon the child's interest. Through his *Orbis Pictus* and other books which he prepared for the use of children in school, he stimulated the improvement of textbooks and particularly the use of illustrations in them.

Here and there in *The Great Didactic* one comes upon a little gem of educational wisdom to which the present day gives full assent; as, for example, "the proper education of the young does not consist in stuffing their heads with a mass of words, sentences, and ideas dragged together out of various authors, but in opening their understanding to the outer world, so that a long stream may flow from their own minds, just as leaves, flowers, and fruit spring from the buds on a tree, while in the following year a fresh bud is again formed and a fresh shoot, with its leaves, flowers and fruit, grows from it." Or again: "In schools, therefore, let the students learn to write by writing, to talk by talking, to sing by singing, and to reason by reasoning. In this way schools become workshops humming with work, and students whose efforts prove successful will experience the proof of the proverb: 'We give form to ourselves and to our materials at the same time.' "

Comenius combined in his genius the century-piercing vision of the educational seer and the sure insight and skill of the artist in teaching. He was a great prophet and a great schoolmaster.

The Educational Program of Eighteenth-Century Liberalism. — Comenius in the seventeenth century was led to his enthusiasm for universal education through an extremely vital and deep religious experience. He recognized human beings of whatever social station as the children of the Divine Father, who could desire for his children only the most extensive personal development that was possible. Starting from this viewpoint, Comenius showed himself alive to progressive intellectual influences in adopting as the means of education the entire range of physical and social sciences and of practical and fine arts at the peak of their development in his day. When we turn to the educational idealism of the eighteenth century, we discover the same enthusiasm for the common man that Comenius exhibited, although at the later time this feeling for the less fortunate members of society was based on a formula of natural rights rather than on the religious formula of common membership in God's kingdom. At bottom both attitudes were religious and humanitarian. Just as Comenius planned a rôle for the common people that was in sharp contrast with the expectations of the organized church and of civil society, just so the humanitarian impulses of the eighteenth-century liberals proposed to open up opportunities for the enrichment of the lives of the common people through education in a spirit which was denied by the prejudices and practices of the existent social order. Those who held these liberal notions of popular education were always a decided minority and it was only gradually that Western society was educated to accept even in part their generous aspirations. With that word of caution in mind, let us follow some of the eighteenth-century liberals in their ideas regarding the functions and the organization of universal elementary education.

There were many eighteenth-century liberals who recognized the justice and the desirability of making generous provisions for the education of the common people. Rolland d'Erceville, President of the *Parlement* of Paris, said in 1768 that education could not be too widely diffused and urged that the poor be given an education adapted to their needs. Turgot, the great finance minister of Louis XVI, urged upon the king a system of popular education as the best means of improving the condition of the common people and of attaching them to the throne. Talleyrand and Mirabeau, among other prominent figures of the early days of the French Revolution, also had advanced conceptions of popular education. Among Englishmen, Adam Smith and Thomas Paine strongly asserted the desirability of not only providing schools for the common people free of cost, but also of compelling the attendance of children. Thomas Jefferson, as early as 1779, introduced into the legislature of Virginia a bill which provided for the universal establishment of common schools, free to each child for three years of attendance, with a further provision of scholarships which would guarantee to the brightest children, even though their parents were poor, the opportunity of extending their education on higher levels of instruction. Dr. A. O. Hansen in his *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century*, in addition to giving a résumé of eighteenth-century liberal thought, particularly as related to education, has collected a group of nine plans for education written in the United States during the late years of the eighteenth century, which show clearly that the same liberal sentiments regarding the instruction of the poor as were animating generous minds on the continent of Europe found expression on American soil as well.

Condorcet's Conception of Popular Education. — Of all the liberal conceptions of popular education which his age produced, there is none, however, which compares in breadth and comprehensiveness with that of Marie Jean Antoine Nicholas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet (1743–1794). With Condorcet faith in education amounted to religious fervor. Upon improved and universally disseminated instruction he based his belief in the indefinite perfectibility of the human race.

In the violent days of the Terror, during the French Revolution, Condorcet had been proscribed by the ruling faction and a price had been put upon his head. He went into hiding for a short time in Paris, long enough to write the work by which he is best known, namely, *Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind.* When that work was finished, he felt that he had completed his legacy to posterity, left his place of hiding, and soon was killed by his political opponents. In the literary work mentioned above, Condorcet described nine stages or epochs which the human race had passed through in its development to his own day. The tenth epoch was the future in which the promise of the late eighteenth century, as Condorcet had faith to see it, was to be realized. In a passage in the chapter in which he describes the state of existence in the tenth and best epoch of human history, Condorcet sets forth his notions of what education might be expected to do for the common people when it had received its desirable development. He says:

> The equality of instruction we can hope to attain, and with which we ought to be satisfied, is that which excludes every species of dependence, whether forced or voluntary. We may exhibit, in the actual state of human knowledge, the easy means by which this end may be attained even for those who can devote to study but a few years of infancy, and, in subsequent life, only some occasional hours of leisure. We might show, that by a happy choice of subjects to be taught, and of the mode of inculcating them, the entire mass of a people may be instructed in everything necessary for the purposes of domestic economy; for the transaction of their affairs; for the free development of their industry and their faculties; for the knowledge, exercise, and protection of their rights; for a sense of their duties, and for the power of discharging them; for the capacity of judging both their own actions, and the actions of others, by their own understanding; for the acquisition of all the delicate or dignified sentiments that are an honor to humanity; for freeing themselves from a blind confidence in those to whom they may entrust the care of their interests and the security of their rights; for choosing and watching over them so as to be no longer the dupes of those popular errors which way-lay the life of man with superstitions, fears, and chimerical hopes; for defending themselves against prejudices by the sole energy of reason; in fine, for escaping from the delusions of imposture, which would spread snares for their fortune, their health, their freedom of opinion and of conscience, under the pretext of enriching, of healing, and of saving them.[1]

One may come closer to the actual means whereby these objectives of the education of the great mass of the population were to be realized, in the *Report* made by Condorcet as chairman of the Committee on Public Instruction, to the French Legislative Assembly in 1792. In the opening paragraphs of the *Report*, Condorcet states anew and in more specific terms the purposes of public education:

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[1] Condorcet, *Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind,* Philadelphia, 1796, p. 263 f.

> To offer all individuals of the human species the means of providing for their wants, of insuring their welfare, of knowing and exercising their rights, of knowing and fulfilling their duties;
>
> To assure to each one the opportunity of making himself more efficient in his industry, of making himself more capable of social functions to which he may rightfully be called, of developing to the fullest scope the talents he has received at the hands of nature; and by that means to establish among the citizens an equality in fact, making real the political equality recognized by the law:
>
> Such ought to be the first aim of national education; and from that point of view it is a logical duty for the public authority.
>
> To direct education in such a way that the perfection of the arts may increase the enjoyment of the great mass of the people and the comforts of those who cultivate those arts, in such a way that a greater number of men may become capable of fulfilling the functions necessary to society and that improvements, which may continually increase enlightenment, may open an inexhaustible source of help for our needs, of remedies for our ills, and of means of individual happiness and welfare:
>
> Finally, to cultivate in each generation their powers, physical, intellectual, and moral, and so to contribute to that general and gradual perfection of the human race, that supreme goal toward which every social institution should be directed:
>
> That ought to be, I repeat, the object of instruction; and it is for the public authority a duty imposed by the common interests of society and by that of humanity as a whole.

Social Reforms of the French Revolution. — It is essential that we recall the fact that Condorcet was making his proposals regarding education to one of the French Revolutionary assemblies.[1] In 1789 the representatives of the French people had gathered to consider with the king some means of social and political reform and they had ended by declaring the old order dead and themselves as the representatives of the new. Many of the changes in French society and government which were made by the Revolution reflected the liberalism of the eighteenth century, the main outlines of which have been set forth in an earlier connection (see Chapter VIII). Among the most important changes made was the abolition of the absolute monarchy and the establishment of a constitutional government based upon a liberal, though not a universal, suffrage. The balance of power, as exercised by the voters, was lodged in assemblies representative of the people. The old régime of privilege was abolished and the annoying holdovers from the medieval system were destroyed. The new conception of government and of the rights of the individual was set forth in " the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen," which was drafted by the first revolutionary assembly.

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[1] For a more extended account of the social and educational changes brought about by the French Revolution, see Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, p. 7 ff.

Once the impulse of social reform got under way, it tended to develop along lines rather radical for that day. The first constitution placed political power in the hands of the middle class and gave only taxpayers the right to vote. In 1792, however, the first constitution was overthrown and the Legislative Assembly which had met under it was disbanded. The new body of popular representatives, called the Convention, was elected on a basis of manhood suffrage, and the period of its existence saw the most extreme development of popular power as well as the bloody excesses of the " Reign of Terror." The power of the radical group was broken in 1794, and thereafter until 1799, when Napoleon became dictator, France was ruled by and for the propertied middle classes. The time at which Condorcet wrote his *Report* was during the flood tide of democratic sentiment and before the excesses of the

Terror had caused a revulsion of feeling among those of liberal, though not necessarily radical, inclinations.

Education of the People for Democracy. — We may think of Condorcet as facing a great problem of social regeneration. The old institutions which had condemned the common people to a state of ignorance and a rôle of passive dependence had been replaced by an order in which they were given definite rights and privileges and in which they were invited to participate as active citizens. For the most part, the outlook and education of the masses were not equal to their new opportunities and functions. The problem of popular education was to prepare citizens for the full realization and enjoyment of their rights and for effective participation in their economic and political duties. Indeed it was nothing short of a great task of human husbandry with which Condorcet was confronted. His problem was to raise the intellectual and moral stature of the great masses of the French population to a point at which they could function acceptably in an improved social order which made greater demands upon them than those to which they had been accustomed.

A part of this work of human development was to take place in the schools, of which the lowest two grades were expected to serve the educational needs of the laboring classes. The most elementary and most universally necessary instruction was to be given in the primary schools, which were to be maintained in every village as well as in all the more considerable towns. The subjects of study were to be reading and writing, "which necessarily presupposed some knowledge of grammar," also the rules of arithmetic, simple mensuration, and elementary description of the products of the country, and of the processes of agriculture and the trades, the discussion of elementary moral ideas and the rules of conduct derived from them, and finally those principles of social organization which might be brought down to the mental level of childhood.

In every considerable town and in every district, which might be thought of as a political division corresponding to our townships, there was to be also a " secondary " school in which the commercial and industrial subjects were to be stressed. These schools were intended for the children of farmers, artisans, and small middle-class persons, whose parents were in sufficiently easy circumstances to forego any return from the employment of their children during this period of extended education. The curriculum which Condorcet proposed for the secondary school will be seen to resemble that which is now given in a French higher primary school, an English " Central " school or in certain curricula in the American high school. It was not intended to be a secondary school in the sense in which that term is used in European countries today as representing liberal education or a preparation for university studies. The studies of the secondary school were to be some notions of mathematics and natural history and of the chemistry necessary to the trades, more advanced treatment of the principles of morals and social science, elementary commercial instruction, and the history and geography of France and neighboring countries.

Condorcet saw in the direction which industrial production was taking in the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new and imperative reason for attention to the education of industrial workers. He saw that the operations of industry were becoming more and more divided and detailed and tended to give each worker a purely mechanical task reduced to a small number of simple movements, which in course of time became altogether automatic. " In that way," he said, " the perfecting of the trades would become for a part of the human race a cause of stupidity ; would introduce in every nation a class of men incapable of raising themselves above the most material interests ; and would introduce both a humiliating inequality and a source of dangerous trouble, if a more extended education did not offer to the individuals of that same class a resource against the inevitable effect of the monotony of their daily labors."

Condorcet conceived that no tuition should be charged in these two lower schools, as, indeed, he proposed for the higher grades of instruction as well. As a further aid to equality of opportunity and as a means of discovering ability that should be developed for the good of society, a system of maintenance scholarships was proposed by which the more promising boys of each level of instruction should be enabled to attend the next higher.

One of the most brilliant examples of social insight which Condorcet exhibits in his educational works is his proposal that every school should be a center of continuing education for adults. The teacher of every primary school was to give weekly lectures to the citizens on social subjects and on the national laws. In each secondary school there were to be a library and a museum and the teacher was also to give weekly lectures on new and improved methods of industry and on the application of science to the trades. By such means adults would be able to supply the deficiences of their early education and could be informed of the changes in their government and the improvements being made in agriculture and manufacturing. Condorcet saw that it was not sufficient for the purposes of effective citizenship that certain skills be mastered and certain facts acquired in early life, but that those skills must be kept alive by use and that the habit of self-instruction through reading must be made an efficient means of continued education throughout life.

In contrast with Comenius, who had in mind the development of religious personality through education, Condorcet stressed the means of creating the intelligent and devoted citizen and the efficient workman whose labors were to be elevated above the mechanical through his knowledge and application of science and through his use of improved methods. In his proposals for civic education Condorcet strikes a note which is of prime importance in the present and which will recur in the sequel of this narrative many times. Condorcet realized the danger of setting up new gods for old in the eyes of the citizen — of substituting a new set of authorities and objects of veneration to take the place of the order that had been destroyed by the reforms of the Revolution. He feared that the average citizen would accept the new order as perfect and in some sense sacred, and not to be criticized or changed. He insisted on the teaching of the principles of social organization and wished to develop in the pupils the habit of checking up against those organizing conceptions of social philosophy the actual institutions as they came from the hands of the law-makers. Indeed even the principles of social organization were to be rationally developed and subject to modification as reason indicated.

This fear of establishing a new tyranny of social and political institutions under which the citizen could be as truly enslaved as he was under the old régime was well-founded, for we shall see that in the direction which education followed in the nineteenth century it became one of the chief objectives of the public schools to establish in the minds of the young an active prejudice in favor of existing institutions and to attach their loyalties to a reigning house, to a certain social theory, and even to certain outward symbols which represented actuality only in an extremely distorted or partial manner.

For many pages we have been considering the generous aspirations of the philosophic minds of the eighteenth century. With them we have contemplated the ideal of a renewed and improved social order in which reason should point the way to justice, humaneness, and equity in all the relationships of existence. We have shared their enthusiasm for education and their faith in its limitless possibilities. We have followed in some detail their proposals for the establishment of elementary schools for the children of the masses of working men and their programs of studies by means of which the submerged laboring classes were to be lifted up to intelligence, independence, and fullness of life.

It must appear obvious that there was a considerable element of speculation in all these proposals — a great gap between aspiration and possibility of achievement. What could have been further from realization, for example, in the year 1792 than the plan of universal free education which Condorcet proposed to the Legislative Assembly? France was bankrupt; attacking armies were advancing upon her borders — were even encamped on her territory; within, she was torn by factional strife. There were no teachers available to put the plan into operation; there were no textbooks; there was no tradition of such an education to build upon; and half the population were devotedly attached to the educational system which the Revolution had overthrown. It might be said that Condorcet's plan of education, as well as the plans of the many other educational thinkers which have been considered in these pages, was pure theory. And so they were. But there is some advantage in having one's theory " pure." Meanings tend to be obscured by facts. Practical difficulties lead to compromises. Better than no bread one takes half a loaf — and then sees the half-loaf as all the bread in the universe.

The eighteenth-century ideal of society, and of education as serving that society, was developed as an exercise of theoretical reasoning. Society existed for certain ends. Those ends could be realized through certain principles expressed in institutions. The working of those institutions depended on the human factor, which could be controlled through education. The personal qualities which were necessary for social health being known, it became almost a matter of geometrical reasoning to describe the materials and the methods of education. As a result of this simplification of the problem, the larger objectives of social organization and of education stood out with crystal clearness. Probably no finer ideal of education in a national state has ever been set forth than that of Condorcet as given in his *Report.* Many of its provisions have been adopted in the national systems of education which have been developed since his time, while in large part it continues to represent an ideal toward which thoughtful leaders of education are striving.

The Partial Failure and the Partial Success of the Liberal Program of Education. — There was a time, in the last years of the eighteenth century, when Western society seemed to be on the verge of reorganizing itself on the basis of eighteenth-century reason and humanitarianism. The American colonies in their Declaration of Independence had sounded a new note of human freedom. England in 1785 seemed to be ready for substantial political and social reform. France had broken with the old order of privilege, injustice, and corruption in 1789. It looked as if, in the eternal warfare of Light with Darkness, that Light was finally to triumph. However, the way to victory was not to be so easy. Before the eighteenth century was out, the brilliant promise of the French Revolution had faded. Napoleon I, with the support of the propertied classes, had established many of the legal gains of the Revolution, but its ideals of equality and fraternity had been forgotten. The common people had become discredited and distrusted and their education was regarded with indifference and neglect. In England the excesses of the Reign of Terror had alienated many liberals and twenty years of bitter war with France had caused profound distrust of any ideas that were even remotely connected with the French Revolution out of which that warfare had originated. In America the optimistic sentiments of the Declaration of Independence had been succeeded by a federal constitution composed and adopted by men of property who were determined by its means to protect property rights against the menace of popular sovereignty.

Equally as important with reference to the delayed development of elementary education as was the set-back which political liberalism received in the last years of the eighteenth century, was the coming into existence of a new system of industrial production which, in its early stages, operated decidedly to the disadvantage of the laboring classes. Through the factory system the hands of industry were drawn into a new bondage more cruel than that which they had known, and it was only in the latter half of the nineteenth century that they were able to forge out of their industrial chains the weapons of freedom.

If thus the too-easy generalizations of the eighteenth-century liberals were refuted by the hard facts of actuality, their influence was never entirely lost. The new political force of mass nationalism, which developed out of the wars of the French Revolution, provided a new and powerful motive for the husbanding of the people and for universal education of children. The very hardships of the industrial revolution drew the attention of the more fortunate members of society to the dangers of an illiterate working-class and opened purses for the establishment of schools. While in the United States, out of the free land of the frontier was to develop a condition of social and political equality which carried with it as a demonstrable corollary the principle of universal free education. The evolution of the elementary school during the nineteenth century will follow lines that at times appear to deviate widely from the course set by eighteenth-century liberalism, but its guiding star of a just, coöperative, and humane social order, founded on reason and supported by education, will never be entirely obscured.

Questions and Exercises

1. What basis is there for calling Comenius a great prophet of democracy in education?

2. What did Comenius mean when he spoke of schools as the "workshops of humanity"?

3. Compare Comenius's "School of the Mother's Knee" with preschool education in our own day. Does contemporary psychology bear out Comenius in his estimate of the importance of infancy in the development of the future adult? What organizations of the present day are devoted to improving the quality of the home environment as an important part of education?

4. Compare the curriculum of Comenius's vernacular school with the elementary curriculum today.

5. Read in *The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius*, as translated by M. W. Keatinge, Chapters XVI to XVIII. On the basis of this selection, criticize Comenius's procedure from the standpoint of its scientific quality.

6. Compare the educational objectives of eighteenth-century liberalism with those of the period following the Protestant Reformation.

7. Could Condorcet's program of popular education be accepted as a working platform in a democratic society today?

8. How were Condorcet's educational plans related to the new social situation that had been brought about by the French Revolution?

9. Were the plans of Condorcet and Jefferson for the provision of scholarships to bright boys more advanced than our current practices in providing educational opportunity?

10. What activities carried on in contemporary society testify to our recognition of the soundness of Condorcet's plans for the continuing education of adults?

11. Compare the educational objectives of Condorcet with those of Comenius. Would both plans have achieved somewhat the same result in terms of the development of individuals?

12. Is Condorcet's *Report* to be regarded as educational practice or as educational theory?

13. What was the immediate fate of the educational plans of eighteenth-century liberalism?

REFERENCES

The student will find a comprehensive discussion of the educational theories of COMENIUS in P. MONROE, *Text Book in the History of Education*, pp. 480–496, Macmillan.

There is also a significant discussion of the work of COMENIUS in R. QUICK, *Educational Reformers*, Chapter X, published by Appleton.

The standard work on COMENIUS is M. W. KEATINGE, *The Great Didactic of Comenius*, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1907.

E. P. CUBBERLEY, *The History of Education*, Chapter XX, has considerable material on the new civic conception of popular education.

Extracts exhibiting the liberal conceptions of education held by leading thinkers of the eighteenth century are contained in E. P. CUBBERLEY, *Readings in the History of Education*, Chapter XX. Among others is included a brief statement on p. 427 of Jefferson's plan for education in Virginia. A volume entitled *Thomas Jefferson and Education in a Republic*, by C. F. ARROWOOD, will shortly be available in the McGraw-Hill Education Classics. This work will contain in full the sketch by Jefferson of a plan for universal popular education in Virginia. A volume in the McGraw-Hill Education Classics, entitled *French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by F. de la Fontainerie, will also shortly appear. It will contain translations of important selections from the writings of Diderot, Turgot, and Condorcet.

Chapter X

A NEW METHOD OF TEACHING TO SERVE THE NEW OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION

In the two chapters preceding we have observed how a new conception of the meaning of human society took possession of the more thoughtful minds of the Western World in the eighteenth century. We have also considered the implications of this conception with reference to the education of the common people and have followed some of the far-reaching plans of philosophers and statesmen for giving the children of the poor an opportunity to attend schools. With the exception of Comenius, however, who was a schoolmaster himself, these exponents of popular education had little or nothing to say about the nature of the educative process. They took it for granted, it would seem, that the main consideration was to get the children to school and they had faith to believe that teaching pupils to read and to write, teaching them arithmetic, history, geography, and civics, would make them into the intelligent, public-spirited citizens which were called for by the new conception of social institutions.

It remained for another group of thoughtful men to point out the fact not only that schools were necessary for the reform of social life, but that an entirely different kind of school experience than that which was in general operation was called for if the full results to be expected of universal education were to be realized. These men saw that the old schools, with their mechanical learning of subject-matter that was little or not at all comprehended by the pupil, and their repressive systems of discipline could never turn out the free man, prepared for full and effective participation in free institutions.

The Educational Philosophy of Rousseau. — At the head of the list of eighteenth-century thinkers who broke the pathway to a more vital school must be placed, without question, Jean Jacques Rousseau. Rousseau was born in Geneva in 1712, but he spent a great part of his life in France and may be thought of as a member of the brilliant coterie of French thinkers who, at the middle of the eighteenth century, made Paris the intellectual capital of the world. In a certain sense Rousseau hardly deserves a place in the history of the common elementary school, because in his writings about education he is concerned throughout with the education of the children of the upper classes. Indeed, in the *Émile*, his greatest work on education, he says that the peasant children, owing to the free and unpampered life they lived and the instruction which they received from everyday, first-hand contact with persons and things, did not require any formal education: they were being educated better by their environment than they could be by a schoolmaster. On the other hand, in spite of his failure to give any special consideration to the schooling of the masses in his writings, there is much in his total contribution which makes it inevitable that we should consider his work in this history of the elementary school.

Rousseau's social and political philosophy was strongly democratic. He believed that government was derived only from the consent of the governed and declared that it should be representative of the common will. Rich men and poor men alike, since they lived under a common law and a common system of political administration, should participate in those continuous acts of revision and renewal of the institutions under which they lived. Since Rousseau's advocacy of universal participation in government was one of the most influential forces leading to political reform in the eighteenth century, his may justly be considered as one of the prophetic voices which made inevitable the system of universal education, the logical correlate of manhood suffrage.

Rousseau deserves a place in this book also because he wrote a new charter for childhood. He set the child in the midst of his generation and caused his contemporaries to see childhood in a new light. In so doing he affected elementary education by changing its original presuppositions and by putting under way a thoroughgoing revolution in regard to the objectives and the means of instruction.

The *Émile*. — The book in which Rousseau discusses the personal processes of education, rather than its social and political bearings, is the *Émile*. This book appeared in 1762 and was immediately a sensation. Many of its readers were profoundly and favorably impressed with it. Perhaps as many more regarded it as the most godless, blasphemous, iniquitous book of its day, while countless others read it, perhaps a bit breathlessly and with many a chuckle, because of its daring, its paradoxes, and its humor. It is said that Professor Immanuel Kant, when the book reached him at the far-off provincial university town of Koenigsberg, became so immersed in its pages that for once he forgot to take his daily walk, which had come for the natives to have all the inevitableness of the earth's motions. Fashionable ladies of Paris read it into the morning hours and had their infants brought to them in the midst of a dinner or ball so that they might be suckled by their own mothers even as Rousseau had so emphatically demanded. The Archbishop of Paris thundered against it in a pastoral letter, calling it "a work that deserves all the anathemas of the church and the severity of the laws." The Church of Rome placed it upon the Index, forbidding the faithful to read it on pain of the punishments of the church. The *Parlement* of Paris, the chief judicial body of France, had the book burned by the public hangman. The government of Geneva condemned it and sentenced the author to imprisonment. What could there have been in the *Émile* that brought about such violent and contradictory reactions?

The *Émile* broke sharply away from current educational practices in at least three fundamental principles. In the first place, it denied the desirability of adjusting the child, through the education which was given him, to the existing conventions, attitudes, and accomplishments of French society. Instead it proposed to educate Émile to be a *man,* with his culture raised to the pitch of humanity, rather than to be a mid-eighteenth-century Parisian. In the second place, it attacked the prevalent modes of teaching, which emphasized the memorizing of facts, stultified the child's natural powers of perception and reasoning, depended exclusively upon books, neglected physical education, and found no place for the active, creative forces of child life, which, to Rousseau's eternal fame, he discovered and made known. In the third place, it introduced a revolutionary conception of the nature of the child as a moral and religious being and proposed letting him, in complete disregard of conventional precepts and orthodox religious formulas, develop into a moral and religious personality. It is this last-named aspect of the *Émile* especially which brought down upon the author the heavy hand of church and state and outraged the good citizens of Geneva.

In the *Émile* Rousseau sets out to describe the life history of a person and to show the means which may be used in bringing about his development into physical health, intellectual keenness, and moral sensitivity and self-control. He is not primarily concerned in that book to discuss the function of education in society, although he recognizes its importance and treats of it elsewhere in considerable detail.[1] In the *Émile* his main concern is to express his utter disagreement with conventional modes of education and to set forth his conception of an ideal individual and of the appropriate ways of producing him. Accordingly, as best suiting his purpose, he chooses a healthy, normal boy of a well-to-do family whom he calls Émile and puts him under the care of a tutor, that is, himself. Rousseau accepts no responsibility for preparing Émile for any specific career in French society. Indeed to have done so would have defeated his purpose of exposing not only the current futilities of education but also the injustice, corruption, and insincerity which he saw all about him. No one appreciated the fact better than Rousseau that Émile would be out of place in the existing social order, but he would be a man, developed on lines that would make him at home in a perfect society.

The Physical Development of Émile. — As the first requisite to becoming a perfect human being, Rousseau takes great pains with his pupil's physical development. During his babyhood, even, he is to be given the utmost opportunity of exercising his limbs. He is to be allowed to creep and walk at will, and to exercise his natural impulses to manipulate objects. To give better opportunity for free play in the open air, the scene of his education is laid in the country. Here he may roll in the grass, run as he pleases, and utilize natural objects for his plays and games, in complete disregard of clothing, making light of minor hurts, and in a commendable state of untidiness. He is early to be accustomed to plain food, for which exercise is to provide the appetite. He is to sleep on a hard bed, which will seem like down to his body fatigued by his activities. When he grows older, he will work in the garden and engage in all rural occupations along with the peasants. Much time will be spent in walking excursions with his tutor. He will develop agility and bodily control through all sorts of games. He is to be made hard of muscle, strong of wind, self-reliant, simple in his tastes, under no necessity to luxury, and in no need of a doctor or nurse. No mollycoddle here, but a real boy.

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[1] For Rousseau's viewpoints on education as a social function, see W. H. Boyd, *Jean Jacques Rousseau: Minor Educational Writings*, the sections giving the extracts from *A Discourse on Political Economy* and *Considerations on the Government of Poland.*

Émile's Intellectual Development. — Having guaranteed his pupil a wholesome and natural physical development, Rousseau is equally determined that there should be in the case of Émile none of the hot-house forcing of the mental life which was characteristic of his era. Strive to lose time rather than to gain it, he said. Do not hurry the child in his mastery of school accomplishments beyond his own recognition of their importance to him. "Present interest, that is the motive power, the only motive power that takes us far and safely."[1]

Stress things rather than words, meanings rather than symbols. Aim at the development of concrete experiences and at power and facility in manipulating real things. Make the child's experience a network of living ideas of relationship. Give him ideas rather than facts. Subordinate the mastery of subject-matter to the development of the child's powers of mind.

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[1] Rousseau, *Émile*, p. 81, tr. by Barbara Foxley, Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., London, and E. P. Dutton and Company, New York. All quotations from the *Émile* given in this book are taken from this edition.

Rousseau is the classic advocate of the pupil's rights in the matter of education. In his vehement paradoxical manner he gives, from time to time in the *Émile*, most emphatic expression of this principle. Indeed, if one were to choose judiciously among the passages of the *Émile*, one could create the impression that Rousseau believed in letting the pupil have his head without restraint. The following passage, for example, taken in isolation would give the impression that Rousseau did not care to have his pupil learn to read until circumstances forced the matter upon his attention and he demanded to be taught that art: "When I get rid of children's lessons, I get rid of the chief cause of their sorrows, namely their books. Reading is the curse of childhood, yet it is almost the only occupation you can find for children. Émile at twelve years old will hardly know what a book is. 'But,' you say, 'he must at least know how to read.' When reading is of use to him, I admit he must learn to read, but till then he will find it only a nuisance."

However, if we follow the account a little farther we find that Rousseau was not content to wait for an accidental occasion which would bring home to Émile the desirability of knowing how to read. Indeed, he set up an ingenious, but rather cruel, situation which made Émile extremely anxious to master the art in the shortest possible time. By writing him notes containing invitations to do interesting things, and refusing to read them until after the occasion for the note had passed, all the motivation required is furnished. "Sometimes Émile receives notes of invitation from his father or mother, his relations or friends; he is invited to a dinner, a walk, a boating expedition, to see some public entertainment. These notes are short, clear, plain, and well-written. Some one must read them to him and he cannot always find anybody when wanted; no more consideration is shown to him than he himself showed to you yesterday. Time passes, the chance is lost. The note is read to him at last, but it is too late. Oh, if only he had known how to read! He receives other notes, so short, so interesting, he would like to try to read them. Sometimes he gets help, sometimes none. He does his best, and at last he makes out half the note; it is something about going tomorrow to drink cream — where? With whom? He cannot tell — how hard he tries to make out the rest!"[1]

Rousseau would not force the child to learn to read and write against his inclinations and as a hateful task, but he saw clearly enough that learning to read and write need not be a hateful task and he set up the situation which made those skills supply the child's present needs. "If children are not required to do anything as a matter of obedience it follows that they will only learn what they perceive to be of real and present value, either for use or enjoyment; what other motive could they have for learning? The art of speaking to absent friends, of hearing their words; the art of letting them know at first hand our feelings, our desires, our longings, is an art whose usefulness can be made plain at any age. How is it that this art, so useful and so pleasant in itself, has become a terror to children? Because the child is compelled to acquire it against his will, — and to use it for purposes beyond his comprehension. A child has no great wish to perfect himself in the use of an instrument of torture, but make it a means to his pleasure and soon you will not be able to keep him from it."[2]

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[1] *Émile*, p. 81.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Develop the Child's Powers of Mind; Do not Cram Him with Facts. — This precept, which Rousseau developed with compelling force, is what he called the principle of negative education. That phrase has been misunderstood, for it was not a negative, but essentially a positive, education which Rousseau advocated. His methods negated the current educational practices of his day, but they affirmed the sound and natural processes of mental and moral development. Rousseau sharply criticized the tendency to force children to master subject-matter verbally far beyond their powers of comprehension. His central principle was to substitute understanding for parrot-like repetition of words, symbols, definitions, and formulas.

Rousseau made great use of a distinction which, in our own day, Professor John Dewey has frequently called to attention, namely, the distinction between facts and ideas, or as Rousseau put it, between images and ideas. Images, as Rousseau said, were merely the mental pictures of external objects, while ideas are notions about those objects determined by their relations. An image when it is recalled may exist by itself, but ideas imply other ideas and are the source of reasoning, which is a comparison of ideas. The main objective of instruction was for him the multiplication of ideas, with their meaning fringes, and the consolidation and extension of judgments of relationship. In other words, he was mainly concerned with teaching children how to think, or reason.

There was, however, in Rousseau's mind a certain confusion in the use of the word reason. At times he uses the word to mean abstract, mature reasoning, as in reasoning out the proof of a geometrical theorem or in understanding the metaphysical implications of the answer to a question in the catechism. Since he did not believe that children had the concrete experience to serve as a basis for reasoning in such abstruse concerns, he sometimes makes quite emphatic statements to the effect that children cannot reason. Children, he says, " retain sounds, form, sensation, but rarely ideas, and still more rarely relations. You tell me they acquire some rudiments of geometry and you think you prove your case; not so, it is mine you prove: you show that far from being able to reason themselves, children are unable to retain the reasoning of others; for if you follow the method of these little geometricians, you will see they only retain the exact impression of the figure and the terms of the demonstration. They cannot meet the slightest new objection; if the figure is reversed they can do nothing. All their knowledge is on the sensation level, nothing has penetrated to their understanding."[1] In this quotation there is undoubtedly some confusion of Rousseau's mind between what children actually do and what they can do. In a later connection we shall note the type of geometrical exercises which he thought suitable to children and which were to serve as the foundation of real geometrical reasoning.

Rousseau was far from thinking, however, that children had no sort of reasoning ability. " I think they reason very well," he says, " with regard to things that affect their actual and sensible well-being. But people are mistaken as to the extent of their information and they attribute to them knowledge which they do not possess and make them reason about things they cannot understand."[2] As a result of the methods of instruction which he applied to his pupil, Rousseau was able to say of him: " He exercises discrimination and forethought, he reasons about everything that concerns himself. He does not chatter, he acts. Not a word does he know of what is going on in the world at large, but he knows very thoroughly what affects himself. As he is always stirring, he is compelled to notice many things, to recognize many effects; he soon acquires a good deal of experience."[1]

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[1] *Émile*, p. 72.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Rousseau confesses his own confusion in regard to the use of the word reason,[2] but he finally comes to a definite conclusion regarding the possibility of children's reasoning. He speaks of "a sort of sixth sense, called common sense, not so much because it is common to all men, but because it results from the well-regulated use of the other five." Common sense "teaches the nature of things by the sum total of their external aspects. So this sixth sense has no special organ, it has its seat in the brain and its sensations, which are purely internal, are called percepts or ideas. The number of these ideas is the measure of our knowledge; exactness of thought depends on their clearness and precision; the art of comparing them one with another is called human reason. Thus what I call the reasoning of the senses, or the reasoning of the child, consists in the formation of simple ideas through the associated experiences of several sensations; what I call the reasoning of the intellect consists in the formation of complex ideas through the association of several simple ideas."[3]

Rousseau's chief concern was to provide his pupil with the concrete experiences in which the sense of use and relationship prospers. "Every village boy of twelve knows how to use a lever better than the cleverest mechanician in the academy." Since this is so, the important thing is to give the boy concrete experience with the lever as a foundation for his theoretical treatment of it when he takes up the study of natural philosophy later on. "In any study whatsoever the symbols are of no value without the idea of the things symbolized. Yet the education of the child is (in common practice) confined to those symbols, while no one ever succeeds in making him understand the thing signified. You think you are teaching him what the world is like; he is only learning the map; he is taught the names of towns, countries, rivers, which have no existence for him except on the paper before him. I remember seeing a geography somewhere which began with: 'What is the world? — A sphere of cardboard.' That is the child's geography. I maintain that after two years' work with the globe and cosmography there is not a single ten-year-old child who could find his own way from Paris to St. Denis by the help of the rules he has learnt."[1] "If . . . you follow rules which are just the opposite of established practice, if instead of taking the child far afield, instead of wandering with him in distant places, in far-off lands, in remote centuries, in the ends of the earth and in the very heavens themselves, you try to keep him to himself, to his own concerns, you will then find him able to perceive, to remember, and even to reason; this is nature's order."[2]

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[1] *Émile,* p. 84. [2] *Ibid.,* p. 72. [3] *Ibid.,* p. 122.

"If [children] have no real ideas they have no real memory, for I do not call that a memory which recalls only sensations. What is the use of inscribing on their brains a list of symbols which mean nothing to them? They will learn the symbols when they learn the things signified; why give them the useless trouble of learning them twice over? And yet what dangerous prejudice you are implanting when you teach them to accept as knowledge words which have no meaning for them. The first meaningless phrase, the first thing taken for granted on the word of another person without seeing its use for himself, that is the beginning of the ruin of the child's judgment.

"If nature has given the child this plasticity of brain which fits him to receive every kind of impression, it was not that you should imprint on it the names and dates of kings, the jargon of heraldry, the globe and geography, all those words without present meaning or future use for the child, which flood of words overwhelms his sad and barren childhood. But by means of his plasticity all the ideas he can understand and use, all that concerns his happiness and will some day throw light upon his duties, should be traced at an early age in indelible characters upon his brain, to guide him to live in such a way as befits his nature and his powers." [1]

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[1] *Émile*, p. 173.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Rousseau's Conception of the Elementary Curriculum. — Instead of looking for a precocious mastery of the subject-matter of books, Rousseau expects his pupil to train his senses and learn to judge by means of sense experiences. He would have him measure, count, weigh, compare, and judge distances and angles by the eye. He would have Émile learn to draw, " not so much for art's sake as to give him exactness of eye and flexibility of hand." All his drawing should be from real objects, " so that he may train himself to observe objects and their appearance accurately and not to take false and conventional copies for truth." Thus he will get " a truer eye, a surer hand, a knowledge of the real relations of form and size between animals, plants and natural objects, together with a quicker sense of the effects of perspective." The drawings are to be used as decoration of the pupil's room.

Émile is to be taught geometry, not as the art of reasoning, but as the art of seeing. " Draw accurate figures, combine them together, put them one upon another, examine their relations, and you will discover the whole of elementary geometry in passing from one observation to another without a word of definitions, problems, or any other form of demonstration but superposition."

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[1] *Émile*, p. 76.

He shall be taught to speak plainly and distinctly, to articulate clearly, to pronounce correctly and effectively, to perceive and imitate the right accent in prose and verse, and to speak just loudly enough to be understood. His voice is also to be made smooth and true, flexible and full for singing, and his ear to be made alive to time and tune. In learning to sing he will also learn to write songs for himself.

Later Extensions of Émile's Curriculum. — When Émile reaches the age of twelve or thirteen, Rousseau extends and complicates his pupil's observation of nature. He is now prepared for a more systematic acquaintance with his environment. Starting from his own experiences, from motives of curiosity or practical advantage, he learns the more important facts of mathematical geography and practical astronomy, and gains an introductory knowledge of physics and chemistry. Now, too, begins his observation of human society. He learns the interdependence of mankind from his own experience of it. By learning a manual trade he comes to respect the skill of the artisan and to appreciate the importance of his work for society. During the whole of his education to the age of fifteen, Émile has been given only a single book to read, — *Robinson Crusoe.*

The years between fifteen and eighteen of Émile's life are to be devoted to intensive study of philosophy, science, and social relationships. During this period Émile's mind is to be opened to the influences of religion and philanthropy. The later instruction, however, is to build upon the earlier and its spirit does not essentially change. No effort is made at the last to recover the body of traditional materials of education which had been so contemptuously neglected during the early years.

The student of education may not take too seriously the strict divisions of his pupil's life which Rousseau made nor follow too closely the allocation of the various studies to his years. Neither may he dwell too much on Rousseau's artificial limitation of the experience of his pupil. It is enough for him to enter into the spirit of this classic criticism of the ways and means of education. Rousseau was determined that nothing should be admitted therein that was not genuine, — that no words should be taught for which there existed no meanings in Émile's mind, that no principles should be learned as facts without being understood, that there should be no imitation of knowledge without its possession. He desired that his pupil should know at first hand, that he should reason from facts acquired through direct observation, and above all that his experience should be rich in meaning and in the interplay of ideas. We shall soon observe how progressive schoolmasters took to heart the stimulating ideas of this philosophic layman and showed how the spirit of Rousseau might be introduced, at least in a measure, into the more systematic procedures of the schoolroom.

The Moral and Religious Education of Émile. — Before leaving Rousseau, it is essential to consider one of the most important aspects of his philosophy of education and the one which caused a greater furor than those which we have already considered, namely, his prescriptions for the moral and religious education of Émile.

Through all the early years of Émile's life, his tutor had never spoken to him of religion. "At fifteen," says Rousseau, "he will not even know that he has a soul, at eighteen even he may not be ready to learn about it. For if he learns about it too soon there is the risk of his never really knowing anything about it."[1] "If I had to depict the most heart-breaking stupidity, I would paint a pedant teaching children the catechism; if I wanted to drive a child crazy I would set him to explain what he had learned in his catechism. You will reply that as most of the Christian doctrines are mysteries, you must wait, not merely till the child is a man, but till the man is dead, before the human mind will understand these doctrines. To that I reply that there are mysteries which the heart of man can neither conceive nor believe, and I see no use in teaching them to children, unless you want to make liars of them."[1]

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[1] *Émile*, p. 220.

One might well be led to suppose, from such tart outbursts as the above, that Rousseau found little place for religion in the life of the human being. So to conclude would be, however, a capital error. Rousseau's was a strongly emotional disposition and he possessed a profound and lively religious feeling. In this respect he differed sharply from many of his philosophic contemporaries who were either coldly skeptical or frankly materialistic. Rousseau was religious, but his religious feeling did not follow the orthodox patterns of belief. He believed in God as the creator and ruler of the universe, a spiritual being who purposed and did everything for good, but who operated by natural law rather than by personal interference in the events of nature and human society. Man he believed to be created in God's image and born with a bias toward the good. Man's conscience he thought to be a means of directly appreciating what was good, and the failure of man's conscience was to be laid to his persistent following of the solicitations of his sensuous nature against the clear dictates of his inner light.

The Original Nature of the Child. — It was within this setting of his view of the nature of God and man that

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[1] *Émile*, p. 220.

Rousseau found his peculiar reverence for the infant and the child. The child was nearer than the adult to the source of all human goodness. His original nature was less overlaid by a false second nature which would have developed in older persons through their long-continued surrender to baser passions. The infant had experienced to a lesser degree the evil suggestions of a faulty environment. For Rousseau the child presented the cure for the ills of humanity, and his moral education was to consist in an unhampered opportunity to develop according to his inborn nature in a selected environment which would protect him as far as possible from the error and selfishness of a human race gone far wrong by its own willfulness.

According to Rousseau, the child possessed in himself the dynamic forces which, given their head and properly guided, would reach out and find the proper sustenance for the development of a sound moral personality. His inborn egoistic tendencies would guarantee the development of a close-knit independent personality. His inborn altruistic tendencies would guarantee the expansion of his interests to include the welfare of others. In this emphasis upon the instinctive bases of conduct Rousseau broke sharply with many of his contemporaries, who saw in the development of the human being not growth, but mere accretion of experiences, — not an organic development from within, but a mechanical building from without. We shall see that, with the exception of the Herbartian system of psychology and pedagogy, all the important modern theories of instruction have followed Rousseau's lead in recognizing the impulsive, dynamic aspects of the child's life as the starting point of the educative process. One can hardly conceive a more revolutionary change in the way of regarding the child than that which Rousseau put under way in the middle of the eighteenth century.

In accordance with his belief in what he called a naturalistic religion, Rousseau did not accept the orthodox revealed religion of Christian church and state. He did not believe in the dogmas of Christianity and most emphatically he did not accept the estimate which the church placed upon childhood. The child, according to the orthodox view, was a lost being, doomed to the torments of hell unless saved by the ministrations of the church. His nature was fundamentally wicked. He was full of original sin. In him lived the old Adam, symbol of man's fall from grace. His acts tended to evil even as the sparks flew upward. To be saved, his original nature must be rooted out. He was to be repressed and coerced. Above all he was to be taught the formularies of the Christian faith, brought to confess his sins, and led to seek forgiveness of an angry God.

Now Rousseau did not believe any of all this and he said so with devastating frankness. The child was not wicked, but good before he was spoilt by the world which his elders had made. As for the direct inculcation of such religious beliefs as orthodoxy dictated, they could only lead to distorted, imperfect conceptions of God and religion and would most certainly interfere with the development of a fine, reasonable, and fervent religious experience when the time for it should come in the life of the individual.

As one follows in the pages of the *Émile* the ways and means whereby Rousseau proposed to put into effect his notions of moral and religious education, one frequently shakes his head in doubt. Some of the details of the process seem to be of dubious expediency and some of them positively wrong. Perhaps in no connection is Rousseau's taste for paradox more violently exhibited, perhaps nowhere are his inconsistencies more disturbing, than in the pages devoted to the moral and religious education of his pupil. Throughout the story there run, however, some threads which one may follow.

Moral Education as the Development of Moral Personality. — Rousseau determined to make Émile a person. To this end nagging supervision over him was done away with and he was led to make terms with his environment as much as possible on his own responsibility. He was to be led to build up a set of moral judgments of his own. His life was not to be lived on an intermediate level of doing what he was told, of adjusting himself to the arbitrary demands of others, or of getting his own selfish way through manipulating the human beings around him. Rather was he to organize his life on the basis of the incontestable demands of his environment — what he could do and what he could not do, what was fair and necessary for associated living among his fellows. No pains were too great to be undertaken by his tutor if thereby a situation might be created which might lead Émile to gain a deeper moral insight and to come to a moral judgment of his own. No one ever worked harder than that tutor to create an environment suitable for the suggestion of moral notions. Never was there a pupil whose life was more closely guarded and guided than Émile's. But in the end the moral judgments which he made were to be his own. His principles of conduct were to be forged out of his experience by himself, not impermanently imposed upon him by his elders. The end of this course of development was to find Émile a moral personality, adjusted to his natural and social environment through self-imposed self-control.

Rousseau goes to no little pains to analyze and make specific the moral objectives which are to be reached in this course of training. He gives specific instances of moral lessons, as, for example, teaching the child the meaning of property, giving him a sense of the interdependence of human beings, teaching him not to be afraid of the dark, and taming his selfish desire to rule those around him. For the most part, however, he sets up a selected environment and counts on that to give Émile a sense of what is good and what not good to do. At one place he says, "The only moral lesson which is suited for a child — the most important lesson for every time of life — is this: 'Never hurt anybody.'" In the period of Émile's life from twelve to fifteen, pains are taken considerably to expand his sense of social relationships and developed on a more conscious level the principles of sound social organization and good conduct. The main effort, however, to create a moral and religious outlook occurs after Émile is fifteen years of age. Up to that time Rousseau counts mainly upon example to give Émile the right moral set. He is to be kind, because he lives among kind folks and gets from them the example of charity. He is to be just, because he has constantly before him the model of justice. He will not grow up a snob, because there is no snobbery in his experience. He is taught to despise intemperance, loss of self-control, and meanness by seeing and feeling their ugliness, — by coming to think of them as distortions of personality.

However much we may disagree as to the details of Rousseau's plan of moral and religious education, we shall probably approve of its main principles. We may recognize as an error his long postponement of specific consideration of ideas related to personal morality and social coöperation. We may believe that some positive experience of religion is desirable in a child's tender years. But we shall agree that the object of moral education is the creation of a self-controlled moral being; that the source of self-control lies in an opportunity for making moral decisions; that the main source of good conduct in children is good example in their elders, and that the foundation of religious feeling is reverence before life and good will to all men.

THE PHILANTHROPINISTS

It must be obvious to any one who is following this narrative that Rousseau's brilliant insight into the nature of the child and his revolutionary conception of the learning process would require considerable adaptation before they could be applied to school practice. His great contribution lay in the stimulus which he provided teachers to apply as much of his theory as possible to their practical labors. It is true that by the time his notions were disciplined into school routine they were in some cases hardly recognizable, but there can be no doubt that his philosophy of instruction and character building entered with dominating power into a host of progressive educational undertakings in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and finally provided Pestalozzi with the seminal ideas which made over the elementary school.

Basedow and the Philanthropinum. — There was a considerable group of teachers and writers on the art of teaching, mostly Germans, who attempted in the late eighteenth century to organize schools according to Rousseau's ideas and who have been called philanthropinists. This name has been given to the entire group because they followed pretty closely the objectives and methods of the school founded at Dessau in 1774 by Johann Bernhard Basedow and called by him the Philanthropinum. The name signified that the school was to be a nursery of "love for humankind." In this school great stress was laid on the natural sciences, which were taught from objects and through observations made out-of-doors. The children worked in the garden, worked at handicrafts, and made many excursions in the open to observe nature at first hand. Much of the instruction was given out-of-doors. Gymnastic exercises had an important place in the life of the children, who were dressed in comfortable and loose clothing. As a supplementation to the observation of natural objects, Basedow prepared a book of copper engravings, which constituted the fourth and final volume of his principal pedagogical work called the *Elementary*, or in German, the *Elementarwerk*. These engravings, a hundred plates in all, covered almost the entire range of the child's actual or possible interests. They illustrated geography, history, polite accomplishments, moral principles, religious experience, the trades, the animal and vegetable kingdoms, mythology, even the art of war. The pictures were placed before the class and used as the starting point for conversational exercises, which were designed to improve the children in the use of language, to cause them to observe, and through observation to clarify their ideas, introduce new information, and stimulate their thinking, and to serve as the basis of good moral and religious lessons.

The discipline of the Philanthropinum was mild, operating for the most part on a basis of mutual good will among pupils and teachers, but aided by a system of rewards of merit. Much attention was paid to the development of independent, self-controlled personality as the main consideration in moral education, but there was also a great deal of positive instruction to give the pupils a background of humanitarian attitudes. The school was religious in tone and definite means were employed to make religion a part of the child's life. However, it was religious with a difference. There was none of the learning of the catechism, which was then the all-but universal method of teaching religion, nor were the orthodox conceptions of God and Christianity the basis of religious instruction. A natural, as opposed to the revealed, religion was inculcated, following closely the religious notions of Rousseau as given in the *Émile*.

Rousseau's recommendation had been not to use the stock subjects of the curriculum because they violated natural methods of learning and were beyond the child's comprehension. He then had proceeded to develop, in informal ways and according to methods which were suitable to the child's abilities and interest, a fairly substantial body of subject-matter. The philanthropinists, being schoolmasters to begin with, turned their attention to an organization of the materials of instruction which would be consistent with the child's abilities and interests and which could be presented in ways which did no violence to sound methods of learning. Thus Rousseau would not teach geography and history because the former consisted of long lists of place names, and the latter of lists of dates, neither of which meant anything to the children. C. G. Salzmann, on the other hand, started with his home community before taking the children into other lands, and he utilized trips to local points of historical interest to make old documents and past centuries meaningful to children.

Contributions to Children's Literature. — Rousseau had said that he would not teach Émile any religious conceptions before he was fifteen because he did not wish to give him what he considered the distorted notions of orthodox revealed Christianity. For him the choice seemed to be between the catechism or nothing. The philanthropinists, on the contrary, felt the importance of an early beginning of the child's religious and moral education and they set out to produce materials that were at once on a level with the child's understanding and at the same time elevated to the philosophic tone of natural religion and humanitarian ethics. The result was the production of a very extensive body of children's literature which might serve the double purpose of utilitarian and ethical-religious instruction. One of the best-known products of the school, which is generally attributed to J. H. Campe, is *Robinson der Jungere*, or in the English form, the *Swiss Family Robinson.* It is presumed that almost every one at some time or other has read this book. If so, he will readily recall the great amount of instruction which it contains, — a veritable encyclopedia of the natural sciences. More than that, it is heavily charged with religion and good morals. Campe also wrote the *Discovery of America, as Related by a Father to his Children; Cortez; Pizarro, or the Conquest of Peru;* and *A New Collection of Remarkable Descriptions of Travels,* this last being a letter sent by a traveler to his friend Edward in Hamburg, describing what he has seen in France and England.

Christian Gotthilf Salzmann wrote a book called *Elementary Book of Morals,* which was intended to give the child of six to eight years of age suitable moral ideas. Some of the chapter headings were as follows: How beloved cleanliness makes us; sad results of laziness; the wretchedness of the spendthrift; there are good people of all religious creeds; the rich are very useful, especially when they use their money to do good; the poor and persons of lower rank are also very useful. As can be imagined the moral in all these chapters is very closely drawn.

A great flood of children's literature was produced during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, not only in Germany but elsewhere, and the general tone of the works produced by the philanthropinists long continued to be in vogue. The English *Sandford and Merton* (1783) and the Rollo series written by the American, Jacob Abbott, represent much the same manner and motive of writing books for children. The influence is also clearly to be traced in the new type of material that found its way into school readers during the first half of the nineteenth century and even later.

The Curriculum a Compromise. — The pupils in the Philanthropinum included both children of well-to-do families and poor children, the latter being expected to wait on table and perform the useful services about the establishment. Naturally enough it was to be expected that the children of wealthy families who attended this school should leave it adjusted in some sense to their environment. Accordingly the curriculum represents a rather mechanical mixture of Rousseau's ideas and of social demands. Quite in line with Rousseau's recommendations is the work given in natural religion, riding, carpentry, geography, physiology, natural physics and physiography, as well as the time given to physical exercise and games. Quite contrary to the ideas of Rousseau was the teaching of Latin, Greek, and French. Mathematics was taught also, but quite in the spirit of Rousseau's recommendations, and history also was given, not in the spirit of chronology, but as a social science expected to provide better conceptions of social relationships and civic virtue. Even Latin was taught by conversational methods and as a world language. The question method, or Socratic method, as it was generally called, was largely used in all subject-matter fields and a definite effort was made throughout to use lessons as a stimulus to thinking rather than as material for memorization and recall.

Influence of the Philanthropinum upon the Common School. — Basedow's Philanthropinum received a great deal of publicity and the support of many eager spirits of the era. Visitors came from all parts to observe it in operation and many persons paid it the supreme praise of setting up institutions like it in other places. Indeed, the Philanthropinum became the rage, and many were the signs hung out before school premises advertising the fact that here was a Philanthropinum. Among the best-known and most important of these were the one established by Christian Gotthilf Salzmann at Schnepfenthal near Gotha, the one presided over by Karl Friedrich Bahrdt, and the schools maintained by Joachim Heinrich Campe at Hamburg and Trittow. It is not our purpose to discuss these schools at length, for they more properly belong under the classification of secondary education. They were for the most part maintained for the children of the middle and upper classes, rather than for the children of the poor, and it is only indirectly that they affected the education of the children of the masses. However, the establishment of these schools along progressive lines and the flood of educational literature which the philanthropinists put forth were important factors in preparing the way for a thoroughgoing revolution in the methods of the common school.

At least one educator who is generally included among the philanthropinists turned his attention seriously to the improvement of the schools of the common people, namely, Baron Friedrich Eberhardt von Rochow, a Prussian nobleman. Von Rochow observed that sheer ignorance was the cause of much of the wretchedness of the peasants on his estate. Long-continued suffering, loss of economic efficiency, and often avoidable death resulted from their ignorance of some of the most elementary rules of hygiene.

They were the victims of quackery and the dupes of every imposter. Their farm work was unintelligent and wasteful of effort and their outlook on life was limited to their daily concerns.

Before opening a school he prepared a little *School Book for Farmers*, which was intended to give the peasant children useful information in interesting form. In 1773 he opened a school on his estate at Rekahn, in which it was attempted to employ a curriculum suited to the abilities and related to the experiences of the children and to conduct the work of the school in such a way as to develop the intelligence of the pupils. To this latter end, great dependence was placed on the questioning of pupils to stimulate them to organize their experiences in thought-patterns. One of the features of the school was the use of home industries, such as spinning and weaving, as a part of the school work. The school drew many distinguished visitors and it was hailed by representatives of the Prussian government as a model village school and as a noteworthy experiment in the education of the common people. However, the reformation of the people's school did not receive any spectacular impetus from the efforts of von Rochow. It was the great Swiss educator, Pestalozzi, who was destined to become the father of the common school.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Supposing that schools had been universally established as Jefferson, Condorcet, and others proposed, would they have achieved the results expected of them in case the old methods of instruction and discipline had continued to operate in them? Give reasons for your answer.

2. Why does Rousseau deserve a place in the story of the common school, in spite of the fact that he did not specifically write about that grade of education?

3. Why did the *Émile* create such a sensation when it appeared in 1762?

4. Explain why Rousseau paid little attention to the social relationships of education in the *Émile* when we know from other works of his that he realized the importance of education as a social agency.

5. Would it be more accurate to speak of what Rousseau called "negative" education, as "positive" education?

6. Would it be fair to say that Rousseau believed in letting a child do as he pleased?

7. Is it true that Rousseau waited for Émile's interests to develop without attempting to provide situations that would stimulate them?

8. Describe Rousseau's apparent self-contradiction on the point of the child's ability to reason. Just what did he think about this?

9. Describe the curriculum which, from first to last, Rousseau provided for Émile.

10. To what extent do you agree with Rousseau on his program for the moral and religious education of Émile. On what points do you disagree?

11. Make a list of the educational principles and proposals expressed by Rousseau with which you are in agreement? Also a list of the points on which you think him to have been wrong.

12. Can you imagine a Philanthropinum as being much like a good modern school? What are some of the features of the Philanthropinum that you would find in a progressive school of today?

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R. H. QUICK, *Educational Reformers*, Chapter XV, is also a good treatment of the philanthropinic schools.

CHAPTER XI

PESTALOZZI, THE FATHER OF THE MODERN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

There can be no doubt that John Henry Pestalozzi did more than any other single man to make the common school adequate to the social service which was expected of it. Condorcet and Jefferson and many other philosophic minds of the eighteenth century saw the justice of removing from the peasant and the artisan the special disabilities which weighed upon them and of admitting them to full participation in political life. They also saw that the common people must be fitted for such enlargement of their lives through education. But it was Pestalozzi who saw the utter inadequacy of the existing common schools for making peasants and artisans into independent, self-respecting men, fit to participate in the functions of citizenship. It was he who saw the need of a revolution in the common schools before they could be useful in a more enlightened, freer social order. It was he who took to his heart the problem of how the peasant might be made a man, — of what the school should be to help make him one. He did not solve that problem perfectly, but before his life work was done he had put mankind in his debt for a stupendous improvement in the agencies of popular education.

It is not to be denied that the times were ripe for the work of Pestalozzi, but neither is his essential genius to be discounted. If his generation accepted him, it was because it had dire need of what he had to give. And few are the great benefactors of the human race who worked against greater odds, who persevered in spite of greater disappointment, who pulled victory out of more certain defeat, than did that old Swiss schoolmaster. If the world has made him a hero, it is because he was one.

Early Life of Pestalozzi. — Born in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1746, he passed through the Latin schools, the Arts college, and the professional college of his home city. Zurich at this time was a notable center of liberalism and among his teachers Pestalozzi found brilliant guidance into the political and humanitarian notions of the age. His impetuous, generous nature proved to be ready soil for progressive ideas and he became active in liberal circles. He wrote and spoke in favor of social and political reform in general, but particularly in favor of the reform of the extremely conservative political organization of his native city. When he was sixteen years of age, Rousseau's *Émile* and *Social Contract* were published and came into the hands of the youthful Pestalozzi. He read these books with enthusiasm and substantial assent. They were one of the great formative influences in his life.

His early intention had been to follow the ministry as his life work, but after finishing the course in theology he turned to law, as offering him the best means of achieving the humanitarian purposes with which his mind was filled. However, his activities in liberal circles closed the doors to legal success upon him in his native city and he turned to journalism and farming as a means of self-expression and livelihood.

The School-Farm at Neuhof. — On a farm near Zurich, which he called Neuhof, Pestalozzi inaugurated his first school experiment. Here he gathered about him a small number of the neglected children of the neighborhood and established for them an environment and a régime by means of which they were to be shaped into better human beings. The human materials with which he worked were most unpromising. His pupils combined in themselves the disadvantages of bad heredity and bad nurture. Their parents were derelicts of the community — idle, profligate, drunken. The children had been brutalized by harsh treatment and by the absence of love and order in their lives. Many of them had already entered upon courses of petty crime. Some were beggars. All were starved and distorted in their mental and moral development.

Pestalozzi proposed to reclaim these children for productive, self-sustaining social life before they were carried too far in the currents that would inevitably lead them to the poorhouse or the prison. From this viewpoint his experiment was a work of social reform, — a benefit to society. But Pestalozzi thought of it primarily as affecting the individuals concerned, — as the creation of economically independent and moral human beings, who could find purpose, satisfaction, and self-respect in their own lives.

In the institutional life developed at Neuhof, book studies occupied an altogether subordinate position. The principal change to be accomplished in the little waifs which had been collected was a moral change. They were to be made over in their habits, their attitudes, and their sense of values. Where they had been lazy, they were to become industrious; where improvident, thrifty; where thieving, honest; where violent in speech and action, soft-spoken and tractable. Their entire environment was to be changed. Order was to take the place of random circumstance. Affectionate treatment was to supersede the brutality to which they had been accustomed. For the first time in their lives they were to know what it was to have a home and a father and all the care and guidance and love which those words ideally imply. The children at Neuhof were to become moral by being moral and acting morally and developing moral conduct as second nature. They were to experience love and thereby learn to love in turn. The providence which Pestalozzi supplied was to be for them the key to understanding the providence of God.

The machinery of this experiment was extremely simple. The children worked in the fields and at farm chores and domestic duties. Indoors they carried on household industries, particularly spinning and weaving. Some instruction was given in language and number as the children worked at their tasks, but little stress was laid on book studies. All was orderly, bustling, affectionate, religious.

For five years the school at Neuhof continued and it may be said that its purposes were in large part realized. When it had to be closed in 1780, one hundred children had come within its beneficent influence. Pestalozzi, writing about the school years afterward, could say that it had given him indescribable pleasure " to see young children, boys and girls, formerly miserable little creatures, grow and develop, to see contentment depicted on their faces, to teach their hands to work, to raise their souls to their Creator, to see the tears of innocence in prayer shine in the eyes of beloved children, and to discern the glimmerings of hope, of sentiments, and morals, worthy of the young, in a degraded and abandoned race." He found it " joy and happiness beyond description to see human beings, the image of their Almighty Creator, grow up in so many forms and with such different gifts, and then perhaps to discover, where no one expected it, in the miserable and abandoned son of the poorest artisan, a great spirit, a genius to be saved." [1]

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[1] Quoted from H. Holman, *Pestalozzi*, p. 48.

The school at Neuhof is often spoken of as a failure, and from the financial standpoint this may be true. The abilities of Pestalozzi were not administrative and he did not succeed in making this great social experiment pay its own way. It was finally closed for debt after having eaten up all of Pestalozzi's resources. However, from another and the essential standpoint, the school was a great success. It pointed the way to the remedial and preventive measures which society might employ to save derelict and delinquent children from pauperism and crime. It represented the beginning of enlightened methods of treating juvenile delinquency. The example given by Pestalozzi was successfully followed later on by Emmanuel Fellenberg, and all over Europe agencies arose for the establishment of home-schools in which Pestalozzi's measures of human reclamation were put into effect.

Leonard and Gertrude. — For eighteen years after the financial failure of the Neuhof institution, Pestalozzi lived by his pen. Some of his writings secured him considerable recognition, but none brought him much money. For those years his life story is one of frustration and poverty. During this time, however, he was turning over in his mind his thoughts on education and perfecting his notions of what it should be and do if it was to be adequate to the task of raising the common people out of their brutishness and their lethargy. One of the books which he wrote during this period, and which reflects as nothing else that he ever produced his love for the peasantry and his program for their improvement, is *Leonard and Gertrude.* Perhaps no better approach to the social significance of Pestalozzi's educational ideas can be made than through this novel of peasant life.

The scene of *Leonard and Gertrude* is the rural community of Bonnal, in which farming, domestic industries, and village trades employ the inhabitants. All are in narrow circumstances, some in actual want, but those who are poverty-stricken are largely so from their own fault, — their laziness, their improvidence, or their dissipation. Quackery and superstition are rife among the people. They are suspicious of one another and opposed to any innovation even though designed for their good. There is much jealousy and backbiting and no spirit of coöperation in the community. Drunkenness is a besetting evil and the village dramshop is the center of much of the suffering and the degradation which the story depicts. The villain of the piece is Hummel, at once saloonkeeper, local usurer, and bailiff, or overseer, for the squire who holds the quit-rents of the village land. The picture of Bonnal is that of the stagnant rural community, not sunk in crime, but unproductive of good works, full of meanness, drudgery, hopelessness, deception, and servility.

To be sure, there was in the community a church, and its pastor was represented as one of the few admirable characters described in the book. But the church was not a vital institution. In it the ordinary services were held. At intervals the sacraments were dispensed. Under its auspices men and women were married, children were baptized, and the dead were buried. The children were taught the catechism and confirmed into church membership. But it was not bringing the real spirit of brotherhood and reverence and moral earnestness into the community. The reason for this failure was that the pastor preached doctrinal sermons, remote from matters of everyday goodness, and the entire administration of religion was formal, dogmatic, and bookish. It lacked the essence of religion, which is a matter of the spirit.

Nor was the village without a schoolmaster and a school. In the case of the schoolmaster Pestalozzi is not kind as he was in regard to the character of the pastor, for he pictures the teacher as a rogue. No healing for the ills of the community could come from the work of the school, for it dealt only with words, mechanically learned and repeated by rote, without meaning. It could not contribute to the reformation of the characters of the children, for its exercises were remote from life and its discipline was severe and repressive.

Such was the community of Bonnal and such were its institutions. Little hope of improvement here, but a reformation was to come through the courage and character of Gertrude, the stonemason's wife, working up from the people, and the benevolence of the squire, Arner, reaching down from the Olympian heights of the manor house to serve them. From Arner came the breaking of the iniquitous hold of the rascally bailiff Hummel upon the people, the installation of a just administration of his little province, and ultimately a reform of the land system which removed the tithes and quit-rents from the peasants' land and made them out-and-out owners of their fields and homes. From Gertrude came the impulses that were to regenerate the inner lives of the people. She made her home a nursery of character. There she was the reigning spirit in a domain of industry, good order, cheerfulness, helpfulness, and true religion, in which healthy, happy children were growing up to be self-respecting, independent, public-spirited men and women. Her home, which represents a pen picture of the activities and atmosphere which Pestalozzi had tried to establish in the farm-school at Neuhof, contributed the spirit and some of the practices of the new village school which replaced the old one.

The new schoolmaster, Lieutenant Glülphi, had observed the busy home circle of Gertrude, in which the children learned to express themselves in language, to read and spell, and to count and perform simple arithmetical operations while engaged in spinning and other household occupations, and he determined that the activities and methods of instruction which Gertrude followed there should be the basis for a reform of the school. From her he learned what he considered to be the root of the whole matter of education when she said to him: "You should do for your children what their parents fail to do for them. The reading, writing, and arithmetic are not, after all, what they most need; it is all well and good for them to learn something, but the really important thing is for them to *be* something."[1]

In opening the new school, Lieutenant Glülphi, with Gertrude's help, roughly graded the children according to their progress in reading. The curriculum was to be expanded to include writing and arithmetic, which formerly had been taught only to the children of the wealthy patrons, who had paid for them as extras. Sewing, spinning, and other home industries were made a part of the school exercises in charge of a capable woman, Margaret, who also made herself responsible for the tidiness and general appearance of the children. "The new master was anxious, above all to accustom his charges to strict order, and thus lead them to the true wisdom of life. He began school punctually on the stroke of the clock and did not allow any one to come in late. He also laid great stress on good habits and behavior. The children were obliged to come to school clean in person and apparel, and with their hair combed. . . . Glülphi's schoolroom must be clean as a church and he would not suffer a pane of glass to be missing from the window, or a nail to be driven crooked in the floor" . . . "He knew his children better in eight days than their parents did in eight years, and employed his knowledge to render deception difficult, and to keep their hearts open before his eyes. He cared for their heads as he did for their hearts, demanding that whatever entered them should be plain and clear as the silent moon in the sky. To insure this he taught them to see and hear with accuracy, and cultivated their powers of attention. Above all he sought to give them a thorough training in arithmetic; for he was convinced that arithmetic is the natural safeguard against error in the pursuit of truth."[1]

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[1] *Leonard and Gertrude*, p. 152, tr. by Eva Channing, D. C. Heath and Company, 1885.

Glülphi's success in developing the moral nature of the children "soon convinced the pastor that all verbal instruction, in so far as it aims at true, human wisdom, and at the highest goal of this wisdom, true religion, ought to be subordinated to a constant training in practical domestic labor. The good man, at the same time, became aware that a single word of the Lieutenant's could accomplish more than hours of his preaching. With true humility, he profited by the superior wisdom of this schoolmaster, and remodelled his method of religious instruction. He united his efforts to those of Glülphi and Margaret, striving to lead the children, without many words, to a quiet, industrious life, and thus to lay the foundations of a silent worship of God and love of humanity. To this end he connected every word of his brief religious teaching with their actual everyday experience, so that when he spoke of God and eternity, it seemed to them as if he were speaking of father and mother, house and home, in short, of the things with which they were most familiar. He pointed out to them in their books the few wise and pious passages which he still desired them to learn by heart, and completely ignored all questions involving doctrinal differences. He no longer allowed the children to learn any long prayers by rote, saying that this was contrary to the spirit of Christianity and the express injunctions of their Saviour."[1]

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[1] *Leonard and Gertrude*, pp. 154, 157, tr. by Eva Channing, D. C. Heath and Company, 1885.

By such means was the village of Bonnal restored to new life. Its economic basis was changed in giving the peasants independent ownership of their land. Its administration was made sympathetic and just. Its church became the source of brotherly kindness in the community and of personal religious feeling. Its school gave up the dull droning of rote-learned book exercises and substituted real experiences, gained in a setting of observation and activity and utilized for the building up of character and the flowering of intelligence and power. Through the school, the spirit of Gertrude's happy, industrious, friendly home was to be implanted in all the members of the new generation. For, after all, it was the industry, the thrift, the goodness, and the piety of this peasant woman, and those qualities alone, which could raise the common people from their hopelessness and degradation to independence and self-respect.

The deep social purpose and the fundamental educational principles which animated Pestalozzi, both in his farm-school at Neuhof and in his earlier educational writings, continued with him to the end of his life. He never lost his interest in the common people and he continued always to think of education as a means of the improvement of society. Moreover, while he worked out the detailed applications of his principles in the period of his life which began in 1798, he continued to the end to find the basis of true education in a genuineness of moral experience and a genuineness of intellectual experience, which the child was actively and habitually to make his own possession.

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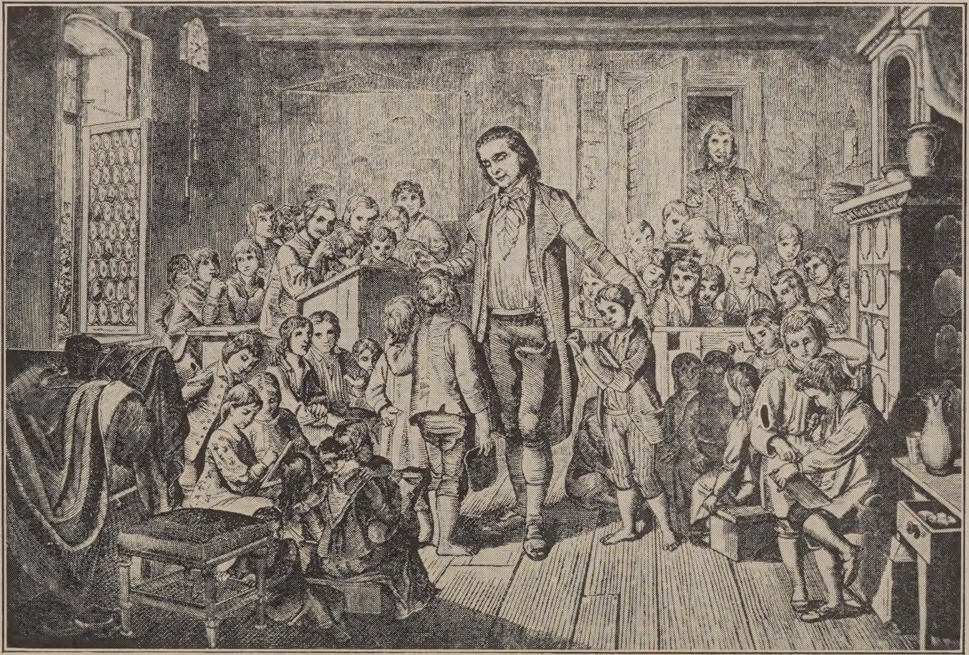
[1] *Leonard and Gertrude*, pp. 156 ff., tr. by Eva Channing, D. C. Heath and Company, 1885.

Pestalozzi at Stanz. — The long succession of lean and fallow years of Pestalozzi's life at Neuhof came to an end when he was given an opportunity of caring for and teaching a crowd of orphaned and homeless children. The soldiers of the French Directory had destroyed the village of Stanz and killed many men and women, with the result that there were many little waifs who had to be provided for if they were not to die. Pestalozzi joyously welcomed a most difficult and laborious task. In an outbuilding of an old Ursuline convent at Stanz, with the assistance of only one servant, for five months he was the parent, the nurse, and the teacher of about eighty children. His difficulties were increased by the fact that he had no books or other materials of instruction, although in the end this was an advantage as it compelled Pestalozzi to stress elementary experiences of number, form, and language which were related to the children's environment. His first interest was " to make the children feel like so many brothers and sisters, and to regard the house as a real home." Out of their own relationships one with another he found the materials for moral lessons, and in an atmosphere of sympathy and affection he led them to a feeling for the providence of God. It was here also that he worked out the first steps of the methods of instruction which he elaborated still further at Burgdorf and Yverdon.

As he was obliged to give the children instruction alone and without help, he was compelled to learn the art of teaching many together. The confusion of the crowd repeating lessons after him led him to see the need of introducing a certain rhythm into the exercises. " The utter



Pestalozzi in His School at Stanz

Taken from H. Krusi, *Pestalozzi*, Wilson, Hinkle and Company, New York, 1875.

ignorance of all," he said, "made me stay long over the beginnings; and this led me to realize the high degree of inner power to be obtained by perfecting the first beginnings and the result of a feeling of completeness and perfection in the lowest stage."[1] He also learned from the children the natural relation in which real knowledge stands to book knowledge and what a disadvantage lay in the one-sided letter-knowledge and the entire reliance on words instead of objective experiences, which were the rule in the ordinary school.

Pestalozzi's Work at Burgdorf. — The school at Stanz was arbitrarily and suddenly closed five months after it had begun, but Pestalozzi, once embarked on the career of schoolmaster, was not to be put off from his purpose of finding and demonstrating to the world a more efficient system of teaching. In 1799 he secured employment in connection with a training school for teachers which the Swiss government was planning to open at Burgdorf. He was given a salary and rooms in the castle and his work was to experiment in one of the lowest-grade schools in the town and to try to develop his method. Indeed, he taught in a school kept by a cobbler, and, what is worse, his innovations were so little pleasing to the cobbler-schoolmaster and his patrons that Pestalozzi had to give up the work. Another school, the lower school in the upper town, was found for him, however, and he continued his efforts to improve the method for which he had a "vague but vivid feeling." For months he "sought in all ways to bring the beginnings of spelling and counting to the greatest simplicity and into form, so that the child with the strictest psychological order might pass from the first step gradually to the second; and then without break, upon the foundation of the perfectly understood second step, might go on quickly and safely to the third and fourth."[1] He saw also that "the child must be brought to a high degree of knowledge both of things seen and words before it is reasonable to teach him to spell or read."[2] How bitterly he came to condemn the "murder" of the child's natural ways of learning in the ordinary school! "We leave children up to their fifth year," he said, "in the full enjoyment of nature; we let every impression of nature work upon them; they feel their power; they already know full well the joy of unrestrained liberty and all its charms. . . . And after they have enjoyed this happiness of sensuous life for five whole years, we make all nature round them vanish from before their eyes; tyrannically stop the delightful course of their unrestrained freedom; pen them up like sheep, whole flocks huddled together, in stinking rooms; pitilessly chain them for hours, days, weeks, months, years to the contemplation of unattractive and monotonous letters, and, contrasted with their former condition, to a maddening course of life."[3] In place of such artificial book exercises he saw that instruction should proceed by ever widening the sphere of children's experiences, by organizing these sense impressions into interpretative meanings, and by developing the language power of the child to the scope of his genuine experience.

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[1] *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*, p. 43, C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, N. Y., 1898.

Pestalozzi's success in the lower school of the upper town received official recognition, and he was encouraged to open an "Educational Institute for the Children of the Middle Classes" in October, 1800. Shortly after opening the Institute, Pestalozzi described his aims and methods in *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*, which found a wide circle of readers and brought him a great deal of favorable attention. The Institute was made a national institution in 1802, the state subsidizing the publication of textbooks which were to make generally available the methods followed by Pestalozzi and his assistants. In return, twelve students of the method were to be received into the Institute. Pestalozzi's success reached its highest point at Burgdorf, although the years of his greatest fame were to follow.

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[1] *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*, p. 53, C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, N. Y., 1898.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60 f.

The report of a government commission, which examined the Institute at Burgdorf in 1802, gives us a picture of the school as it impressed a friendly observer: "There is no trace of memory drill. Everything which the child learns is the result of his own observation, of his own experience. He learns nothing which he does not understand, he understands everything which he learns. In the lower classes the chief exercises deal with observation and naming. The boys are led to notice first the objects in the room, then they go over the whole house, observing and naming everything.

"When this source is exhausted they are taken into the garden, into the fields, and the woods, gradually accumulating a stock of mental pictures and names. The children are then led to notice the objects in greater detail, their situation and the relations of their parts, their permanent and changing qualities, the qualities that are general and those that are peculiar to them, their influence, their functions, and their destiny. Thus they pass from simple to complex ideas, from mental images and names to judgments, descriptions, conclusions, — in one word, to the definite and intelligent use of language. They understand what they say, and they say what they understand.

". . . In the lower classes child religion, not theology, is aimed at. The object is to stimulate and educate the moral feelings. To that end the whole life of the school as well as the instruction is religiously organized. Morning and evening prayers are especially adapted to the events of the day, and private talks with the boys do much to strengthen the impressions made by experience. Corporal punishment is rare. It must not be thought that this moral atmosphere comes from fear or the strictness of discipline. The rod is almost unknown. It is used only in the solitary cases where sensory excesses must be frightened away by sensory pains."[1]

The Institute at Yverdon. — In 1804, after four years of successful work in the Institute at Burgdorf, which brought him international recognition, a political change in Switzerland lost to Pestalozzi the favor and support of the government. After some vicissitudes, the educational experiment was transferred to the Castle at Yverdon, placed at Pestalozzi's disposal by the local authorities of that place, where from 1805 to 1825 it was maintained as a private institution. During its early years, the new Institute enjoyed great prosperity and a great deal of fame. Pupils were sent there from all parts of Europe. It was the Mecca of educational observers from many Western countries. Thither were sent official representatives of governments to learn the new method of instruction and to bring back to the lands from which they came the practices, but much more the spirit, embodied in Pestalozzi's school. The Institute had expanded in numbers and scope over the condition of the Institute of Burgdorf, but its very success was the source of difficulty. Pestalozzi was not a good administrator and he was compelled to turn over more and more responsibility to assistants. Among his helpers there developed contention and disagreement. The fortunes of the Institute varied from time to time, but its last years saw a notable decline in its reputation and prosperity. Finally, after twenty years of existence, it had to be closed.

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[1] Quoted from J. A. Green, *Life and Works of Pestalozzi*, p. 97 f., W. B. Clive, London, 1913.

In 1825 Pestalozzi retired to his farm at Neuhof to continue with his pen the educational labors to which his entire life had been devoted. Two years later, at the ripe age of eighty-one, he welcomed in death a peace which his life had never given him.

Educational Views and Practices of Pestalozzi. — As one reflects upon the pedagogical theories of Pestalozzi, he must certainly conclude that the Swiss educator agreed substantially with many aspects of our present-day educational doctrine. He represented a continuation of the revolutionary influence of Rousseau, who, in making the inner dynamic forces provided by the child the center of the educational process, inaugurated what is recognized as the central principle of instruction among us today. Pestalozzi is modern also in his insistence upon the quiet, resistless power of example and surrounding experience in establishing the child's moral and emotional attitudes. Like us, he would provide a vital setting for the learning process, full of activity crowded with real things and real persons. Like us, he set the appreciation of relationships above the mastery of facts; thing-knowledge and ideas above the learning of words; moral attitudes and habits above the reciting of formulas. It was this essentially sound insight of Pestalozzi into the educative process which made him the great leader of his generation in school reform. It enabled him to inaugurate great improvements in teaching and to suggest still greater improvements which he himself was unable to work out to full fruition.

Pestalozzi accepted an organic rather than a mechanical conception of the child's nature. The child was like a plant. He developed as a necessity of his inborn nature.

Education was a growth rather than a process of construction. The child's growth should be an all-round development of his intellectual, moral, physical, and vocational life. The chief function of the teacher was to provide a good growing environment and to lead the child into vital experiences. Education should be well-rounded growth in a setting of real experience.

Strike beneath the meaningless verbal instruction common in the schools as they exist and come at reality, he would say. Utilize first the immediate environment of the child, then the more remote environment, finally use pictures to give sense impressions of things. Through comparison of objects, develop ideas of classification, relationship, and function, starting from the sense experiences with which genuine knowledge begins. Utilize the art of instruction to fortify and emphasize the natural activities of the child. Amplify and discipline his experiences of form by having him recognize lines, angles, figures, and by having him see these elements in their concrete embodiment. Give the child further control over his experience by having him count and measure it. Teach him to reproduce in drawings the distinctions which his eye has shown him. Have him reproduce in spoken and written language all the richness of the world of experience which has been opened up to him. Also let the child's development in his experience of form, number, and language proceed by carefully graded steps. Master each step thoroughly before passing on to any new item of skill or knowledge which might depend upon it. Linger over the early stages of any art until they become second nature.

The Discrepancy between Pestalozzi's Theory and His Practice. — However, as one reads Pestalozzi's own account of his methods, and still more as one reads descriptions of the schools of Burgdorf and Yverdon, one realizes that Pestalozzi, like the tribe of educators in general, was more successful in stating his main principles than in putting them into efficient practice. He believed in the activity of children, but as he tried to put the principle into operation, it turned out to be an extremely limited sort of activity, closely controlled by the teacher and the school program. It was activity of eye and tongue and hand, meager in pattern and deficient in elements of pupil planning and initiative. Pestalozzi seemed to be satisfied that he was realizing the principle of pupil activity when he stood before a class and had them shout after him in unison long series of sentences such as:

"I see a hole in the curtain."

"I see a round hole in the curtain."

"I see a large round hole in the black curtain."

Pestalozzi did much to foster the employment of real objects and life situations in the school, but in *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* and in the practices followed in the Institute at Burgdorf, he sinned grievously against the spirit of concrete instruction. He strung long lists of place names together and had the children learn them by heart. He used the dictionary to get lists of substantives, and of adjectives which could be used in connection with them. Thus he would start with the word eel, no eel being present, and would teach the children the adjectives slippery, wormlike, and leather-skinned, thinking that he had thus not only extended the child's knowledge of the eel, but had increased his ability to set forth real experiences in language. He would teach the child the external details of his own body in systematic memoriter fashion, so that, as one reads about it, he seems only to have been putting the pupil through a verbal exercise, at least no better than the exercise some of us can remember, of learning in school the names of all the bones of the body. It would be possible to multiply at considerable length such inconsistencies between Pestalozzi's theories of objective instruction and his own practice. We shall see later on that one of the important streams of influence emanating from Pestalozzi laid hold of this more superficial and less enlightened aspect of his practice and developed it at the expense of his total philosophy of education and of his own more happy embodiments of that philosophy. (See pp. 258 f.)

Pestalozzi's principle of providing a graduated approach in the child's process of learning was also developed to an extreme. His was an empirical rather than a scientific mind, and in default of any adequate science of child psychology which he might depend upon, he fell into many practical errors. He made a great many artificial divisions of letters, figures, and number processes which later experiments have shown to be useless or harmful. He was the slave of system. While undoubtedly building on a dynamic conception of child nature and clearly expressing the theory that education was growth, he fell into practical procedures which made it seem that he regarded the child as a mechanical doll and the process of learning as the assimilation of carefully graded, systematically presented units of knowledge and skill. These aspects of his practice make him appear at times as only the advocate of a spirited drill method, which gained its effect by means of order and rhythm and the interest that attaches to any live group exercise. He proved that children could verbally learn almost anything, and in astonishing amounts, through such a method and could develop remarkable skill in computation. He did not thereby contribute to the development of a thoughtful experience in the child nor establish the child's knowledge on a concrete basis.

The Net Influence of Pestalozzi upon the Common School. — It does not seem worth while in this connection to attempt a close-knit criticism of Pestalozzi's philosophy of education nor of his more specific proposals regarding methods of teaching and the subject-matter of instruction. When all is said, Pestalozzi richly deserves the high place which he has been assigned in the history of popular education. It was he who saw more clearly than any one else of his times the revolutionary changes in the schools which would be necessary before the universal provision of schools could result in any substantial improvement of the masses of the people. It was he more than any one else who rescued the folk school from its degraded and disgraceful condition and started it on the way of becoming an institution for the improvement of human beings in mind and heart. Where his example fell short, his spirit achieved. Powerless himself to do all that his visions revealed, he stimulated others to do more than he had been able to do.

Briefly to mention the major changes which are to be attributed to Pestalozzi's precept and example, we may say that he called the attention of his age to the social significance of the common schools; that he did much to rescue teaching in the common schools from a nondescript teaching personnel and to place it in the hands of men and women much more adequately prepared to follow teaching as an honorable and skilled calling; that he gave great impetus to the classification of pupils according to their abilities and achievements; that he greatly expanded the curriculum of the common schools beyond the narrow exercise in reading which it had been before his time; that he introduced methods of instruction which greatly facilitated the mastery of the ordinary school skills and the acquisition of information; that he substantially improved the quality of school experience by introducing more of concreteness, more of thinking, and more of doing into the school; that he wrought a revolution in the conception of school discipline by substituting the rule of love for the rule of fear and by treating children as coöperative individuals in a social enterprise rather than as potential rebels in a kingdom of repression.

The Prussian-Pestalozzian System. — When Calvin E. Stowe, Horace Mann, and other American observers went to Europe from the United States in the 'thirties and 'forties of the nineteenth century, they found in Prussia a substantial embodiment of the spirit and practices of Pestalozzi. The Prussians had seen in Pestalozzi's system the means of accomplishing the regeneration of their national life in so far as that depended on the improvement of the common people. Accordingly they had sent many young men to Yverdon to observe Pestalozzi's work in the dark days following the defeat of Prussia in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. These men had returned to their home land and had put into operation in the teachers' seminaries which Prussia had established as the foundation of a national system of education much that they had seen at Yverdon. In those seminaries there were worked out a curriculum and a method which came to be called the Prussian-Pestalozzian system, and which was carried from them into every folk school in Prussia. What went on in those schools may be taken as representing the pedagogical influence of Pestalozzi.

Horace Mann's Impressions of the Prussian-Pestalozzian System. — One of the most enthusiastic American observers, Horace Mann, described in the Seventh Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Education (1843) what he had seen in the Prussian folk schools. The first advantage which he remarked upon was that which resulted from classification of the pupils. "In all places where the numbers are sufficiently large to allow it, the children are divided according to age and attainments; and a single teacher has charge only of a single class, or of as small a number of classes as is practicable."

"About twenty years ago," he proceeds, "teachers in Prussia made the important discovery that children have five senses together with various muscles and mental faculties — all of which, almost by a necessity of nature, must be kept in a state of activity, and which, if not usefully, are liable to be mischievously employed. Subsequent improvements in the art of teaching have consisted in the art of supplying interesting and useful, instead of mischievous occupation, for those senses, muscles, and faculties."

Horace Mann tells of entering a classroom of sixty children of about six years of age. They "were just taking their seats, all smiles and expectation. They had been at school but a few weeks, but long enough to have contracted a love for it. The teacher took his station before them, and after making a playful remark which excited a light titter around the room, and effectually arrested attention, he gave a signal for silence. After waiting a moment, during which every countenance was composed and every noise hushed, he made a prayer consisting of a single sentence, asking that as they had come together to learn, they might be good and diligent. He then spoke to them of the beautiful day, asked what they knew about the seasons, referred to the different kinds of fruit trees then in bearing, and questioned them upon the uses of trees in constructing houses, furniture, etc. . . .

"By the teacher's desk, and in front of the school, hung a blackboard. The teacher first drew a house upon the blackboard; and here the art of drawing, — a power universally possessed by the Prussian teachers, — became manifest. By the side of the drawing and under it he wrote the word 'house' in the German script hand and printed it in the German letter. With a long pointing rod, he ran over the form of the letters, — the children with their slates before them and their pencils in their hands, looking at the pointing rod and tracing the letters in the air. . . . The next process was to copy the word 'house,' both in script and in print, on their slates. Then followed the formation of the sounds of the letters of which the word was composed and the spelling of the word. Here the *names* of the letters were not given as with us, but only their powers, or the sounds which those letters have in combination. . . .

"After the word 'house' was thus completely impressed upon the minds of the children, the teacher drew his pointing rod over the lines which formed the house; and the children imitated him, first in the air, while they were looking at his motions, then on their slates. In their drawings there was of course a great variety as to taste and accuracy; but each seemed pleased with his own, for their first attempts had never been so criticized as to produce discouragement. Several children were then called to the blackboard to draw a house with chalk. After this the teacher entered into a conversation about houses. The first question was, what kind of a house was that on the blackboard. Then the names of other kinds of houses were given. The materials of which houses were built were mentioned, — stone, brick, wood; the different kinds of wood; nails, and where they were made; lime, and whence it came, etc., etc. When the teacher touched upon points with which the children were supposed to be acquainted, he asked questions; when he passed to things beyond their sphere, he gave information, intermingling the whole with lively remarks and pleasant anecdotes." The observer remarked with approval the fact that complete answers to all questions were required, not just a word or phrase, and that the children were taught to express themselves in correct German.

" When the hour had expired," he continues, " I do not believe there was a single child in the room who knew or thought that his play time had come.

". . . In the simple exercise above described, there were the elements of reading, spelling, writing, grammar, and drawing, interspersed with anecdotes and not a little general information. . . . All children are pleased with the idea of a house, a hat, a top, a ball, a bird, an egg, a nest, a flower, etc.; and when their minds are led to see new relations or qualities in these objects, or when their former notions are brought out more vividly, or are more distinctly defined, their delight is even keener than that of an adult would be in having observed a new fact in science, or in having the mist of some old doubt dispelled by a new discovery. . . .

" Again, the method I have described necessarily leads to conversation, and conversation with an intelligent teacher secures several important objects. It communicates information. It brightens ideas before only dimly apprehended. It addresses itself to the various faculties of the mind, so that no one of them ever tires or is cloyed. It teaches the child to use language, to frame sentences, to select words which convey his whole meaning, to avoid those which convey either more or less than he intends to express; in short, it teaches him to seek for thoughts upon a subject, and then find appropriate language in which to clothe them."

In the instruction in arithmetic the beginnings always occurred with the use of real objects. The simple numbers were handled and transposed in a great variety of ways. The children were taught to understand all processes rather than to memorize rules. The instruction in number passed imperceptibly into geometry, algebra, and other forms of mathematics, again on a basis of understanding of relationships rather than of committing rules and demonstrations.

In the language instruction, Secretary Mann " heard very little of the ding-dong and recitative of gender, number, and case, — of government and agreement which make up so great a portion of the grammatical exercises in our schools." The Prussian teachers were cultivating accurate use of the German language in all the school exercises, both in the oral and written form. Technical terms were avoided until the child had become familiar with the nature and use of the things designated by them and was able to use them as the names of ideas which had a definite existence in his mind.

The excellence of the writing which he saw everywhere, Mr. Mann attributed largely to the attention given in the schools from the earliest years to the art of drawing.

He found the practice to be uniform of always beginning the teaching of geography "with objects perfectly familiar to the child, — the schoolhouse with the grounds around it, the home with its yard or gardens, and the street leading from the one to the other." Geography was taught almost wholly from large maps suspended against the walls, and by delineations on the blackboard. A geography lesson described with the utmost enthusiasm by the overseas visitor found the teacher sketching an outline map upon the blackboard while the pupils in vociferous unison gave the names of the mountains, rivers, cities, and other facts related to the map as it developed bit-by-bit.

In all of the " study-plans " for the schools in the north of Prussia, Pestalozzi's stress on objective teaching was exemplified by divisions of the work variously named as "exercises in thinking," "Knowledge of Nature," "Knowledge of the World," and "Knowledge of Society." Under the last-named captions was included the instruction in history and civics which was used so effectively for the promotion of patriotic attitudes among the pupils. (See p. 227 and ff.) "These lessons consisted of familiar conversations between teacher and pupils, on subjects adopted to the age, capacities, and proficiency of the latter. With the youngest classes, things immediately around them, — the schoolroom, and the materials of which it had been built; its different parts, as foundation, floor, walls, ceiling, roof, windows, doors, fire-place; its furniture and apparatus; its books, slates, paper; the clothes of the pupils, and the materials from which they were made; their food and playthings; the duties of children to animals, to each other, to their parents, neighbors, to the old, to their Maker — these are specimens of a vast variety of subjects embraced under one or another of the above heads. As the children advanced in age and attainments, and had acquired full and definite notions of the visible and tangible existences around them, and also of time and space, so that they could understand descriptions of the unseen and the remote, the scope of these lessons was enlarged, so as to take in the different kingdoms of nature, the arts, trades, and occupations of man, and the more complicated affairs of society."[1]

In all Prussian schools there was given religious instruction according to the affiliations of the child's parents. In Lutheran communities, the Lutheran catechism was followed, and in Catholic communities, the catechism of that faith. In mixed communities, the schools gave general religious and moral instruction, while the sectarian formulas were taught the children by the ministers of their own denominations. In addition to the dogmatic instruction there was a study of the Bible as history and the source of moral and religious attitudes.

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[1] Horace Mann, *ibid.*, p. 117 f.

Music was everywhere in evidence. The teachers were masters of vocal music and they played upon one or more instruments as well. "One was as certain," said Horace Mann, "to see a violin as a blackboard in every room." Singing was taught not only as an accomplishment, but as a means of recreation and socialization.

During all his sojourn among the Prussian schools Horace Mann declares with emphasis that he never saw a teacher hearing a lesson of any kind, except a reading or spelling lesson, *with a book in his hand.* He never saw a teacher sitting while hearing a recitation. And he "never saw one child undergoing punishment, or arraigned for misconduct. He never saw one child in tears from having been punished or from fear of being punished." He heard no child ridiculed, sneered at, or scolded, for making a mistake. Corporal punishment was allowed in the schools, and on occasion used, but only rarely and then for the most part in the case of young pupils.

Another point which greatly impressed Horace Mann was the professional spirit which he found to exist among the teachers. He found them in possession of pedagogical works and on their tables he saw copies of the educational periodicals of the day, of which more than thirty were being published in Germany at that time. He was told by the editor of a pedagogical magazine that the obscurest teacher in the obscurest village was usually a subscriber to one or more such publications.

Such was the Prussian-Pestalozzian system of instruction as seen through the eyes of the Secretary of the State

Board of Education of Massachusetts. Therein he saw much that was in sharp and favorable contrast with the practices of contemporary schools in Massachusetts and the United States at large. He may be forgiven a certain uncritical enthusiasm over what he saw and reported, for Prussian school practice as a whole was far-and-away better than what he knew at home. Indeed, it was the Pestalozzian theory of instruction, as embodied in the Prussian system of teacher-training and in the Prussian folk schools, which provided both the precept and the example for progressive educators in the United States during the first half and well into the second half of the nineteenth century.

A Word in Criticism of the Prussian-Pestalozzian System. — Probably Horace Mann's estimate of the Prussian system was a bit roseate, although in some particulars it was not uncritical. He undoubtedly visited schools of the better rather than those of the poorer type and he saw those schools when they were conscious of having a distinguished visitor in their midst and desirous of making a good impression. Moreover, there were positive defects in the proficiency which they had developed. Subserviency to the teacher had taken the place of subserviency to the textbook, and the pupils were attached by very short strings to the lead of their teachers. The system was adapted to the wholesale indoctrination of pupils into desired social and political attitudes, and, moreover, it was so employed. While it substituted an animated and efficient system of drill for the spiritless learning of facts, yet it was essentially a system of drill in which the teacher was responsible for the pattern as well as the detail of the pupil's experience. The very exercises that were designed to foster thoughtful attitudes in the experience of the pupils represented more a thinking after the teacher on the part of the pupil than any development in him of experimental and problem-solving attitudes. But, such as it was, with its good features and its bad, the system represented a substantial improvement in school instruction and discipline over the inefficient and deadening schools of the eighteenth century.

Questions and Exercises

1. In what ways are the methods which Pestalozzi followed at Neuhof employed in the most enlightened reform schools for delinquent children at the present time? Is your own state using as good a method in its reformatories as the one to which Pestalozzi pointed the way?

2. What were the good influences in the village of Bonnal? Why had the school and the church not served the social functions which are expected of them? What changes in these institutions were necessary before they could properly serve the community?

3. Reconstruct the scene of Lieutenant Glülphi's school. What elements had been taken into it from Gertrude's home?

4. What improvements over the traditional school situation are indicated in the report made on the Institute at Burgdorf?

5. Name some ways in which Pestalozzi's practices did not live up to his educational theory. Is he unique among great educators in this respect?

6. Why may one take the Prussian-Pestalozzian system as representing the embodiment of Pestalozzi's spirit and practice?

7. Taking what Horace Mann said about the Prussian schools as a true description, what elements of improvement in the common school may Pestalozzi be largely credited with? Would some schools that you have attended as a pupil have been improved if the methods which Horace Mann described had been applied in them?

8. On what is Pestalozzi's claim to greatness based? What were the sources of the weaknesses which his practice exhibited?

9. Why does Pestalozzi rather than Comenius or Condorcet deserve the title, Father of the Common School?

References

The best approach to Pestalozzi's reforms of popular education is gained through the reading of his *Leonard and Gertrude*, published by

Heath. Considerable selections of source material are found in *Educational Writings of Pestalozzi*, edited by J. A. Green and F. Collie, and published by E. Arnold. An American edition of *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* has been published by C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, New York.

Among the best biographies of Pestalozzi are the following: J. A. GREEN, *Life and Work of Pestalozzi*, published by the University Tutorial Press, London; H. HOLMAN, *Pestalozzi*, published by Longmans.

Much concrete description of Pestalozzi's work is found in R. DE GUIMPS, *Pestalozzi: His Aim and Work*, Appleton.

The account of Pestalozzi's life and work, given in S. C. PARKER, *History of Modern Elementary Education*, pp. 273–374, is a very useful supplementation of the treatment contained in the foregoing chapter, and should, by all means, be read by the student.

The Prussian-Pestalozzian system, as described by Horace Mann, is found in the *Seventh Annual Report* of the State Board of Education of Massachusetts, 1843.

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATION FOR NATIONAL ENDS

The Development of Nationalism. — One of the most powerful influences in bringing into existence the common school and in giving it form was the new development which the principle of nationalism received through the events of the French Revolution and its sequel. It would be an error to think that this principle was a novelty in the closing years of the eighteenth century, for it had been the guide of political development in Europe for several centuries before that time. With the revival of commerce and the rise of cities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, conditions favored the ambition of kings to establish their sovereignty over the feudal lords with whom up to then they had been compelled to divide much of their titular authority. As national kings succeeded in bringing more of their lands under their civil administration, through the extension of their courts and officers of peace and the elaboration of machinery for the collection of revenues, they naturally enough came into conflict with the Universal Church, which was an important judicial agent, which drew its revenues from national subjects everywhere throughout Christendom, and which laid claims to universal sovereignty even over the kings themselves.

In the sixteenth century, the kings of national states established the superior strength of the national form of political organization, with its more compact area and its more immediate control of economic and military resources, over the claims of the international church-state. At about the same time the kings were able to establish themselves as superior to the power of their nobility, even when the latter were in combination. Accordingly the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the national state as the dominant form of political organization in Europe, and the ambitions of the several nations, led by their sovereigns, present the key for understanding the long train of wars fought during that period in support of dynastic rivalry or colonial acquisition. The ruling economic theory of the time recognized the nation as the basis of policy, which was to manufacture raw materials at home and sell finished products abroad in order to maintain a favorable cash balance of trade.

A few of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century had risen to the thought that the economic and military prosperity of the nation depended, in the long run, on the welfare and intelligence of the common people, and had taken some steps to improve their circumstances and their education. The main advantages, however, of the eighteenth-century national organization had accrued to the privileged and the commercial classes. The peasant of Alsace neither suffered nor had more nor less as a French subject than he had as a German.

The French Revolution and Patriotism. — The events of the French Revolution, however, brought the consciousness of national citizenship home to the masses of the population of France. The abolition of many troublesome feudal obligations had given the peasants a freedom and security which they had never before enjoyed. The confiscation and sale by the government of the immense properties of the church and of the estates of many noblemen who had left the country, multiplied the number of small owners of real estate, who had thus been made able to gratify their hunger for the possession of land. The general reforms of law and judicial procedure had made every individual, whether rich or poor, secure in his enjoyment of legal rights, as in contrast with the arbitrary, capricious, and partial application of the police power which had formerly obtained. The moderate requirement for the right to vote under the early Revolutionary constitutions had widely distributed a sense of civic participation and personal importance, while the fact that this suffrage requirement was in terms of the amount of tax paid by the citizen, opened up to every adult male the prospect of becoming an effective civic unit. Indeed during a period of the Revolution the right to vote was universally enjoyed.

Hardly had the new government been proclaimed in France, when some of the sovereigns of Europe, sensing a threat against their prerogatives, declared war on the Revolution and led armies against France determined to restore the old order of things. This attack from without upon a people intensely conscious of having won precious liberties developed a national self-consciousness which represented something new in European history. For the great mass of the population France became the symbol of their personal welfare. Their own fortunes were seen to be involved in her integrity and independence. Her soil was the temple of freedom, and at any cost the invading tyrants must be repulsed. The young men rushed to enlist in the armies, and the old men and women labored in the making of the materials of war and in the erection of defenses. Symbols of liberty were adopted and songs of national devotion were written and universally sung. The nation was pervaded with an emotion that was akin to religion in its depth and intensity. Patriotism had been born among the masses of the French people.

Education for National Solidarity. — The leaders of the Revolution saw the importance of assisting and making permanent the spontaneous patriotic impulses of the hour. From the first they were conscious of the necessity of establishing a system of education by means of which the people might be informed of the advantages which they enjoyed under the new régime. They were to be instructed in their new rights and to be made active partisans of the Revolution. Through the education of the children the state was to gain a new instrument of social control and a guarantee of its own stability. The successive governments of the French Revolution did not succeed in establishing a working system of education, but in the reports on public education that were made to the various assemblies, in the bills that were introduced, and in the laws that were actually passed, there was ample prophecy of the direction which national education was destined to take in the nineteenth century.

The revolutionary leaders saw that the continued loyalty of the people depended upon the creation in them of a common state of mind and a favorable set of attitudes. As a first and fundamental step in the creation of a common culture, it was realized that all the people of France should come to use the same language, which in 1789 was by no means the case. In various parts of France, the German, Italian, and Basque languages were used by large concentrated populations, while some of the French dialects were incomprehensible outside of the region in which they were employed. Accordingly the Revolution schemes of education uniformly called for the adoption of standard French as the medium of instruction in the common schools. Even in the secondary schools, where Latin had been the principal language, they called for the mastery of the French language and literature as the first object of teaching.

Next to this stress upon French as the language of the schools, the Revolution educators emphasized instruction in the history and geography of France, and the political principles of the French Revolution. "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen," which was the "Bill of Rights" of the constitution of 1791, was to be learned by heart. Indeed it was to enjoy, as the subject of catechetical instruction, the same high place which had formerly been enjoyed by the doctrines of religion. The gains of the Revolution were to be consolidated and intrenched by means of the instruction given in the schools. For the boys and girls who had not felt the delirium of freedom's first hour it was to be made to live again through the fervent inculcation of the schoolmaster.

Prussia Provides the First Efficient System of National Education. — In spite of good intention and much debate the French Revolutionary assemblies did not establish anything very important in the way of a national system of education. It was reserved to Napoleon to set up an efficient administration of secondary and higher education, but he was indifferent to popular education and took no steps to aid it. For the first embodiment of the national concept in a comprehensive system of education, extending from the folk school to the university, we must turn to Prussia in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

The enthusiastic response of the French masses to the national emergency in 1792 had enabled France to repel her invaders. The soldiers of liberty, thus having defended their home altars, became in turn the missionaries of the new social order. Led by Napoleon they carried their gospel at the point of the bayonet over all Europe. In 1806, in the battle of Jena, Napoleon crushed the military forces of Prussia, and in the Treaty of Tilsit, by which peace was concluded in 1807, he exacted severe and humiliating terms of the defeated nation. This blow to Prussia's power and pride provided the stimulus for a general taking of stock in that country and led the way to far reaching social and educational reforms.

The Medieval Character of Prussian Society in 1807. — It is important that one should have in mind the fact that at the beginning of the nineteenth century Prussia remained in many aspects of her life substantially medieval. She was mainly an agricultural country and the land-owning nobility eclipsed in social standing the remainder of the population. The state-church was a part of the civil establishment and its officials were largely of the middle class. The burghers had lost much of the prosperity which they had enjoyed up to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and did not possess anything like the amount of influence which the corresponding class had in England and France. The farming class were encumbered with a great many survivals of feudal obligations. A law which made it impossible for a noble to sell land to any one but a noble, a burgher to any one but a burgher, and a farmer to any one but a farmer, kept society stable and prevented any considerable change in the social distribution of the people. There was no legislative assembly or other means of discovering or expressing the will of the people. The government was an absolute monarchy of the eighteenth-century pattern and its system of administration was archaic and inefficient.

The state had long exercised authority over education and had shown itself interested in the maintenance and improvement of schools and universities. (See p. 87 and ff.) Again in 1794, when a general codification of Prussian law was made, the civil state affirmed its control over education, reiterated the provision making school attendance compulsory upon all children, and prescribed the maintenance of folk schools. Previous to the reforms which followed upon the defeat of Jena, however, the church had maintained its practical control of education. The higher officials of educational administration were churchmen, and the teachers in the secondary schools were for the most part young ministers who were waiting for church appointments. The local pastors were the supervisors of the folk schools, and the instruction in this lowest grade of education continued to be predominantly religious.

Reforms Following the Treaty of Tilsit. — The crushing defeat which Napoleon had administered to Prussian arms revealed the inadequacy of that country's political and economic system. Persuaded by liberal and able advisers, the King, Frederick William III, promulgated a long series of reforms which released the latent life and vigor of the nation for growth and action. The civil administration and the judicial system were reorganized and made more efficient. A new fiscal policy was inaugurated. The old restrictions upon the sale of land were removed and the improvement of the farmers' condition led the way to unwonted prosperity. Reforms of municipal administration gave the cities of the kingdom a degree of independence and self-government which they had not previously enjoyed and stimulated their growth and improvement.

Napoleon had limited the Prussian army to 42,000 men in the harsh terms which he laid upon that kingdom, so in order to evade that restriction the Prussians began a system of short-time military training which has since come to be adopted very generally in Europe. If the army was to be limited to 42,000 men, then those men should be changed every year so that eventually the whole population fit to bear arms should have had military training. This plan called for a very exact system of social accounting in order that the government might have a complete list of those eligible to serve in the army and might know the exact age of all its citizens. These records were the basis of a great deal of the order that was subsequently introduced into Prussian life and especially of the very successful system of compulsory school attendance which was shortly to be established.

By reason of these reforms many of the medieval features of Prussian life were eliminated, but even after the liberal and reforming spirit had had its way Prussia remained far behind England and France in the freedom of its institutions. Political power continued to be lodged in the crown and no representative assembly was created. The absence of any political participation in national affairs kept the people politically immature. The heavy bond of custom kept the middle and lower classes in a condition of subserviency and intrenched the nobility and large landowners in the position of social power and esteem which they had formerly enjoyed. It was in such a country, undemocratic by any standards that we recognize, that there was organized for the first time in Western history a comprehensive and efficient system of education for the common people. It is to be expected that the schools established should reflect the social conditions by which they were surrounded.

The Birth of German Patriotism. — The regeneration of Prussia was accomplished on a great wave of patriotic feeling. Popular poets sang the greatness and the suffer-ings of the Fatherland. Gymnastic societies for physical development, military drill, and patriotic propaganda were organized in every corner of the land. In the universities the students organized patriotic societies in which the watchword was liberation from the tyranny of Napoleon. Even the philosophers, who had participated in the cosmopolitan attitudes of the eighteenth-century liberals, found a new meaning and worth in the principle of nationalism and did their part in converting the intellectual class to German patriotism.

Among the philosophers the most influential and ardent was Johann Gottlieb Fichte. During the winter of 1807–1808, he delivered in Berlin a series of fourteen "Addresses to the German Nation," in which he declared that individualism and self-seeking among the citizens and classes of Germany were the cause of her defeat and humiliation. Only when the individuals of the country were drawn together in common loyalty and service to a social organism could they discover the true meaning of their existence. For all Germans, the society in which each person had to find his larger self, and to which he owed full loyalty and love, was the German nation, which had been placed upon the earth as a part of the divine plan and had a destiny to fulfill. The only way in which the individual could realize his complete selfhood was through identifying himself with the nation by serving and improving it. The subordination of self to society for the sake thereby of realizing a richer individual life was to be accomplished through love of the fatherland. Fichte did not try to prove that this love existed in all German hearts, but he felt it passionately himself and took it for granted that many others felt it too. In order that all might be made to feel this sentiment, which was a necessary condition for the development of the moral nature of the individual, schools had to be established in which children could be separated from the reigning social habit of self-seeking and nurtured in the atmosphere of social service and coöperation. If Germany was to be saved, the nation must be taken as the unit of social organization. Germany must know its character and destiny, and through a conscious control of education it must liberate all the potentialities — moral, intellectual, physical, vocational — for national service that existed within the children of all the people.

A National System of Education. — Through a series of laws promulgated during the twenty-five years following the Treaty of Tilsit, Prussia established a thoroughly efficient national system of educational administration. Reaching downward from the king's absolute power, there was organized a hierarchy of authority which guaranteed that the national will regarding education should be carried out in every grade of instruction from the universities to the humblest elementary school. In the king's cabinet was a Ministry of Religion, Education, and Public Health, which was the final authority over education in the nation at large. The Prussian state was divided into ten provinces, governed through consistories, each of which had a division for education. The provincial administration had jurisdiction over secondary education and the system of normal training for the common, or folk, school teachers. Each province was subdivided into administrative counties, each governed by a council, of which one member, the *Schulrath*, was in charge of the folk schools of that area. For purposes of inspection of the folk schools, each administrative county was further divided into circles, each with its school inspector. The final unit of administration was the *Gemeinde*, or community. In rural communities the administration of the local folk school was in charge of a committee of management, in which the church, the civil administration, and the patrons were represented. In larger towns and cities each school had its own local committee of management, while a comprehensive body called the school commission had general jurisdiction over the folk schools of the city. Every community was compelled by law to have a school and that school was ultimately governed by the standards and purposes determined upon in the national councils, for the system of administration established was designed to that end.

Compulsory School Attendance Achieved. — Aided by the system of social accounting that was made necessary by the demands of universal military service, and supported by the power of the civil magistrates, the Prussian government succeeded in getting the children into the schools. Regular school attendance became a national habit in Prussia a half century before England and France had taken any steps in that direction, and three quarters of a century before any effective headway had been made against neglect of school attendance in the United States. In Prussia the support of the common schools was cared for through school associations, of which every landowner, whether he had children or not, and every parent, whether or not he owned real property, was a member. Membership in the association was not voluntary, but the list was made up by the civil authorities and the fees levied upon the members were collected as ordinary taxes and in proportion to the value of their property. Thus the main burden of support of the folk schools was laid upon property, although small fees continued to be paid by the children until 1888. However, the fees of children whose parents were too poor to pay were remitted and in case of great need children were furnished with school books and the necessary school supplies.

Improving the Teachers. — The qualifications of the teachers in the public schools were determined by examination. No teacher could be chosen by a local school association unless his name appeared on a list prepared by the school councilor of the administrative county, and only when he had in his hand the royal ratification of his nomination could he be installed in a school. Once installed he was eligible to promotion and secure in his tenure. In case of professional neglect or moral delinquency he was subject to penalties, and ultimately to removal from office, but his interests were safeguarded by law. Communities were expected to give preference in their elections to teachers who had had training in the teachers seminaries.

Teacher Training. — One of the strongest points in the system of folk schools established in Prussia lay in the training provided for prospective teachers in the teachers seminaries, which is the German name for normal schools. The Prussian government sensed at the outset that the improvement of conditions of popular education depended more on the quality of the teachers than on any other single factor. Note has already been made of the care which was exercised in certificating and appointing teachers. But the Prussian state did more than that. It led the way among modern states in providing a thoroughly trained and professionally enthusiastic corps of common-school teachers through the establishment in every administrative county of a teachers' seminary.

The example of teacher training was taken from Pestalozzi's Institute at Yverdon, where a number of young men had been sent by the Prussian government to observe the methods and catch the spirit of the great Swiss schoolmaster. These men returned and established the Prussian system of teacher training which was the foundation of the so-called Prussian-Pestalozzian system of instruction (see pp. 200 ff.).

The youth who went to these normal schools for a three-year period of instruction and training were sons of the common people, who were expected to return to their own class and teach in the folk schools. The normal schools were not connected in any way with secondary or university education, and the years spent in such an institution could not be used as a stepping stone to a higher level of education or to a higher teaching career. Life in the seminaries was severe and, by our standards, rather bare, but it cannot be denied that the curriculum provided the prospective teachers with a rather generous education. A great deal of attention was paid to German language and literature, and strong emphasis was also laid upon music. Every graduate was expected to be able to play at least the violin, and probably the organ, so as to be able to lead with one of these instruments or the other the musical exercises of the common school. Other subjects followed were drawing, mathematics, geography, natural philosophy, or physics, natural history, or the biological sciences, psychology, methods of teaching, and ancient, medieval, and modern history, with special emphasis upon the history of Germany and Prussia. Great attention was given to ecclesiastical history and Bible study, while the frequency of religious exercises and the generally religious tone of the institution were designed to create in the student personal attitudes of piety.

Since the normal schools were founded as part of a plan of national regeneration and at a time when Prussian feeling was at white heat under the insult of Napoleon's oppression, it is not to be wondered at that they shared in the patriotic impulses of the era. Harnisch, director of the seminary at Breslau, enlisted in the War of Liberation with forty of his pupils, and their example was followed in many other seminaries. The instruction in the German language and literature and in national history and geography was filled with the spirit of patriotism, while the patriotic songs which the students sang, and which they were to teach their pupils to sing, strengthened their love of country. The tradition of patriotism as a part of the atmosphere of the teacher-training institutions came into them at the beginning and was never lost as long as those institutions continued as a part of the national system of education.

The Folk Schools. — The materials of instruction in the reorganized system of folk schools show substantial expansion beyond the curriculum of the eighteenth-century school as prescribed by the regulations of Frederick the Great. In one respect, they had scarcely changed and that was in the position of importance given to religious instruction. The folk school was expected in the nineteenth century, as it had been in the eighteenth, to inculcate attitudes of reverence and piety upon the children and to that end instruction in the Bible and the positive truths of Christianity was made a part of each day's instruction. The school exercises began and ended with prayer. But there was this important difference between the eighteenth- and the nineteenth-century school: whereas in the former the curriculum was almost exclusively religious, in the latter, while the religious attitude was retained and some instruction in religious matters was given, the material of instruction was enlarged to take in a wide circle of human knowledge and interests. Great attention was given to the German language, not only in classes specially devoted to its study, but in all exercises of the school. Where other languages than German were the medium of instruction, which was in some cases allowed, German had to be taught as a subject, and no hindrance to the free use of German by teachers or pupils in such schools was to be tolerated. Exercises in form and mass relationships were given in connection with drawing. Arithmetic was to be taught so as to give the pupils a sense of the meaning and relationships of numbers and an understanding of processes. It was to culminate in the practical computations used in everyday experience. Elementary nature study, geography, and history were taught both in their general bearings and with special reference to the Prussian state. Singing was an important feature of every school day. Penmanship, physical exercises, and instruction in agricultural and practical arts constituted the remaining subjects of instruction.

The radical change which had occurred in the folk schools as the result of the new spirit which had captured Prussia following the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) is described by Adolph Diesterweg, one of the leaders of German education during the first half of the nineteenth century. Probably his estimate of the progress made is over-optimistic and represents in part the best results achieved and in part aspiration, but that a revolutionary change had taken place is not to be denied. Diesterweg in describing the folk school as it was in 1845 says:

> "The school has become an institution for the cultivation of human nature, and the former schoolmasters have become teachers. We build men from within outward, through ideas which are comprehended. Man is no machine, no automaton, no stock; therefore unintelligent memory work is a servile and degrading labor. The laws of human education and development are not to be decided

> according to chance, but are to be sought for and, if discovered, carefully observed. They lie in the nature of man himself. Animals are trained to external performances as one wishes, but the young of the human species should be developed with reason and toward reason according to the God-given laws of human life. Of these laws the school-keeping tradesman of the past centuries had no presentiment even; but now every thoughtful teacher seeks to carry on his instruction and everything he does as far as possible according to the laws of nature. The results of this splendid ambition lie open before one's eyes in the school as far as concerns the art of teaching. Instead of the former dark, damp prison houses, we have light, sanitary, and cheerful premises. Instead of the scanty and mechanical instruction in reading and a few other matters, we have soul-cultivating and psychologically sound instruction in the elements of all information and knowledge through which man becomes truly man. Instead of the rule of the stick and the system of flogging, we have a benign and earnest, a paternal and reasonable, an affectionate form of discipline conducted by men who are thoroughly educated and zealously devoted to their vocation.[1]

The estimate of the work of the folk schools as given above is substantially corroborated by the accounts of contemporary American visitors. In describing the influence of Pestalozzi on the education of the common people, we have already had occasion to quote extensively from what Horace Mann had to say about the Prussian schools in the Seventh Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Education (see p. 200 ff.). Much the same impression as that gained by Horace Mann is shown in the *Report on Elementary Education in Europe*, made in 1837, by the Rev. Calvin E. Stowe.

Nationalism and the Folk Schools. — Some lines of Kipling's *Law of the Jungle* effectively sum up the profound sociological principle which was the foundation of the reorganization of the Prussian schools:

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[1] *Rheinische Blätter*, N. S., Vol. XXXI, 1845.

As the creeper girdles the tree trunk
The law runneth forward and back;
The strength of the pack is the wolf
And the strength of the wolf is the pack.

German society awoke to the realization of the fact that national strength depended upon the development of its human resources. The individuals that made up the separate German states were operating at low efficiency, and this was particularly true of the masses of the common people. These human units, counted in millions, had to be raised to higher levels of intelligence and productiveness if a strong nation was to be brought into existence. On the other hand, it was regarded as equally important that in the individuals thus to be improved should be developed a spirit of social solidarity, a consciousness of common purpose, and a loyalty to national ends.

The account already given of the expanded curriculum and the improved methods of instruction and discipline which were inaugurated in the folk schools indicates how Prussia set out to raise the individuals composing the masses of the population to taller human stature. It was determined that more of the sense of beauty should be brought into their lives through the instrumentalities of music, drawing, and literature. They were to know more — more about the world of nature which surrounded them, more about the world of human beings in which they lived, more about the history of the human race and particularly of the national group of which they formed an immediate part. For the peasant, following his narrow round, the previously unnoticed phenomena of his everyday environment were to be made to stand out as objects of intelligent appreciation and interest and means of increasing the rewards of his labor. The artisan was to be given superior means of control of his operations through the aid of mathematics and drawing. The housewife in her home was to find her exacting vocation made lighter as it revealed more that touched her intelligence and her imagination. And all — peasant, artisan, housewife — were to have their vistas of experience extended far beyond the limited area and the contracted interests of their local community and their day's work.

Patriotic Instruction in the Schools. — If the national interest thus resulted in expanding the curriculum of the folk schools in order to make more intelligent and more productive social units of the children who attended those schools, it no less found the means of organizing those units into a conscious social whole. Little information is to be gleaned from the official list of studies as to how the various subjects of the curriculum were to operate in the development of patriotic attitudes on the part of the pupils, but that such was the expectation there can be no doubt. *A Sketch of a General Education Law for Prussia,* prepared by Privy Councilor Süvern in 1819, which, it may be noted, was never promulgated as law, but which represented substantially the existing educational practices in so far as curriculum was concerned, has the following interesting section: "Loyalty to king and nation and unqualified obedience to the laws and legal ordinances are essential aspects of moral character. It is hereby declared that to awaken and strengthen these qualities in the youth, and through all the means at the command of the school to work toward that condition when every school will be a nursery of blameless patriotism, is made the most sacred duty of all schoolmasters and mistresses. The fulfillment of this object is made the chief factor according to which their merit will be estimated."

Baron von Altenstein, from 1817 to 1840 Minister of Education, summed up the work of the folk schools as being " that the common people may know how to serve and wish to serve God, the King, the Fatherland, and themselves with strong skillful bodies, awakened intelligence, and good conscience."

It is evident that the religious exercises of the school were made to contribute their share in the socializing of the Prussian children in terms of Prussian nationalism. Love of God, love of king, and love of fatherland were three aspects of the moral and religious experience of the child which were tied together in all the mystic oneness of a new trinity. The singing of popular and patriotic songs in the schools was employed then, as now, to foster love of country. Patriotic selections used in the reading classes were means readily available to the same end. But perhaps the most important agency in giving body and substance to consciousness of fatherland was the instruction in geography and history.

If the child was to be made conscious of his country, he needed to know its body — its towns and cities, mountains and plains, and rivers, the make-up of its population, its products, its occupations, and its historic places. Thus to cause the child to connect the whole extent of his country with the little valley or the single town in which he lived and to identify his fortunes and his physical heritage with that of the millions of his fellow citizens, was an indispensable condition to the enlargement of his thinking to the national scale. But this latitudinal extension of his interests was not sufficient. It was necessary that he should identify himself with the generations dead and gone and become conscious of membership in a social group that had a history and was to live on in the future. He must be made to see himself as the custodian of a whole heritage of heroism, suffering, and effort, which it was his duty to conserve and enrich. To this end, he learned the story of battles lost and won, and heard tales of heroic adventure and unselfish devotion to his country's cause. He came to revere the names of great men and of kings bold and good, the shepherds of the people. Likewise he learned to know the enemies of his land and to hate them for the suffering and death which they had brought to his own.

Thus the Prussian boy and girl gained a conscious sense of fatherland and came to think of themselves as having a share in a great land and in a great tradition and as being under obligation to serve their country and their king.

The Historical Significance of Nationalistic Education. — In these later days, when the world still has vivid memories of the most terrible war in all history, which represented the culmination of more than a century of nationalistic policies and education, it is difficult to maintain just perspectives in this matter of education for national ends. It is well for us to recall the fact that this latest and most aggressive phase of nationalism, which has possessed the Western world since the era of the French Revolution, originated as a defense reaction of threatened peoples. It blazed out first in France when the French people were called upon to defend their new-found liberties against a foreign coalition. It appeared next in Spain, where the spirited mountaineers rallied to the defense of their country against the armies of Napoleon. Prussia was aroused to national self-consciousness as a result of the defeat which she suffered at the hands of the French and it was only the threat of national annihilation which nerved her people to efforts which freed their land in the War of Liberation (1813–1815). Thus begun, there has been as yet no definite end of the dominance of nationalism as an organizing principle of Western society, although there are indications in sight that the world is looking for a better way. It may well be that the new conditions of communication and economic life which have been maturing during these last generations are such as will write " the end " to the period of militant nationalism.

Should it not be our chief preoccupation with nationalism in this connection to observe it as a phenomenon rather than to praise or condemn it as a social theory? Mass nationalism has been the effective principle of social organization for almost a century and a half. Perhaps it is passing. At least it *has been*. It represents a phase or stage of development which human society has gone through, and in some lands is just going through, as in Turkey, Mexico, and China. What has it meant in terms of social change?

Mass nationalism has meant competition among nations, all the keener because it involved the best resources of economic and military strength which the nations have possessed. It has produced wars, probably not so many wars as occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but certainly bigger wars, and besides it has kept nations stirred up to a tension of military preparedness which is bad enough in itself. On the spiritual side, it has fostered intense, restricted loyalties for their own country and unreasoning suspicion and violent hatred of other nations in the individual citizens. In this way the fact and the attitudes of nationalism have operated against the development of coöperative relationships within the whole social order, embracing all national groups.

On the other hand, it must be observed that national interest has provided the effective dynamic of social reform and better human husbandry. In the interest of pack strength the individuals had to be made more intelligent, more productive, more loyal, and better contented. On the spiritual side it must be credited with a positive enlargement of human personality. The citizen, conscious of his identity with a historical tradition and a living cause and willingly devoting himself to his country's need, is more of a person than the peasant who knows nothing and cares for nothing beyond his immediate local and personal affairs. To lift the individual to the vistas of national consciousness and loyalty was a great human accomplishment. Perhaps it ought to be regarded as the necessary halfway station on the upward road to a lively consciousness of human kind.

The Folk School for the Common People. — It is discouraging, just after having credited nationalism with providing the dynamic force for putting into effect some of the generous aspirations of eighteenth-century liberalism, to have to note that the folk school, as it was developed in Prussia and as it existed in Prussia and all Germany until the close of the World War, fell short of the generous expectations which Condorcet and other liberal spirits had of the school of the common people. The folk school was established as the school of a class, — the lower class of the people, consisting of peasants and artisans.

There were in Prussia many valiant spirits who fought vigorously against this limited conception of popular education. Privy Councilor Süvern of the Ministry of Education in the *Sketch of a General Education Law for Prussia*, mentioned above (see p. 227), proposed that there should be three grades of education so arranged that the work of each should prepare the pupil completing it to take up the next higher, which was in effect the " ladder-system " of schools as we know it in the United States. Ranged with Süvern were many other liberal statesmen and educators who desired to open up very freely the resources of education to all children so that ability in any walk of life might be given its opportunity. However, the forces of conservatism and, it must be added, the actual conditions of Prussian life at the time, made impossible the realization of this generous ideal.

When we consider that serfdom had persisted in Prussia up to the time of the reforms following the Treaty of Tilsit and that there were no representative assemblies in Prussia until 1850, and not a very genuine system then, it is hardly to be expected that the folk school should have been designed to foster a great deal of social movement upward among the people or to school them to habits of independence and initiative. Besides, Prussia was predominantly a farming country, and if peasants got the notion of leaving the land and becoming clerks or members of the professional classes there was no way to absorb them into the national economy. King Frederick William III, who reigned from 1797 to 1840, in his *Self-Confessions* describes as his personal dilemma the question of the objectives which should control the folk schools.

> In regard to the loud and ever louder demand for popular education by means of improved schools (he says), I find myself in a disagreeable position which causes me considerable uneasiness. It must be granted that popular education is the foundation upon which the welfare of the people must rest. A neglected, uncouth, illiterate people can be neither a good nor a happy people. Therefore I have given the good-schools interest a free hand and supported it as far as the economic condition of the state allowed. . . .
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> But just where educational conditions are most advanced, all kinds of doubts and forebodings force themselves upon me. May one ask himself regarding popular education whether or not it has its limits? If it has no bounds, then we are not justified in interfering with, hindering, or restricting its development, but must let it take its natural course. That, however, I cannot approve without reservations. The answer becomes still more difficult when one

wishes to set up limitations and then tries to say where they are to be and whether or not they can be established.

We do not confer upon the individual or upon society any benefit when we educate him beyond the bounds of his social class and vocation, give him a cultivation which he cannot make use of, and awaken in him pretensions and needs which his lot in life does not allow him to satisfy.[1]

A still more definite conception of the desirable objectives of the folk schools was expressed in a General Order published by Baron von Altenstein, the Minister of Education in Prussia.

"According to my view of the matter (the regulation reads), the primary schools have only to work to the end that the common people (*Das Volk*):

"1. May grasp and appreciate the Christian faith, simply and according to the Gospels, but with vitality and inwardness of experience;

"2. May find in this belief the basis and motive for a moral and happy Christian life;

"3. May be intelligent in regard to all matters within the narrow sphere to which God has called them;

"4. May learn to express themselves concisely and logically in regard to these same matters;

"5. May be able to express themselves easily and correctly upon such more extended experiences as directly touch upon their sphere of life;

"6. May learn to read, write, reckon, and sing;

"7. May love their rulers and their fatherland, be informed according to the needs of their social position, of the social institutions and laws of their country, be contented with their social status and happy in their lot;

"8. May learn the indispensable and practically useful facts of nature, their application and use, the knowledge of hygiene, etc.;

"9. And, to sum up all very briefly, may know how to serve and wish to serve God, the King, the fatherland, and themselves with strong, skillful bodies, awakened intelligence and good conscience;

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[1] Tews, *Ein Jahrhundert Preussischer Schulgeschichte.*

"10. According to these principles I regard popular education as truly more than a scanty instruction in the bare instrumentalities of culture — reading, writing, and arithmetic. On the other hand, I do not think that the principles enunciated will raise the common people out of the sphere designated for them by God and human society. I think rather that they are able to make the common man's lot agreeable and profitable to him."[1]

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century the forces of social and educational reaction gained the ascendancy in Prussia and the hope which liberals had held of achieving some connection between the schools of the people and the secondary schools and universities was definitely quenched. The curriculum of the teachers' seminaries and of the folk schools was severely contracted. The principle was adopted of teaching the prospective schoolmasters only what they needed in order to become letter-perfect in their folk-school duties. As for the folk schools, the subject-matter of instruction was cut down to the expectations of pious, patriotic existence in the humble station which it was expected that the children of the poor would occupy.[2]

Thus the folk school in Prussia until the close of the World War meant an institution which was designed for the lowest social class. It was a closed system, unconnected with secondary education. The child who entered and continued in the folk school was unable to go on with his education on higher levels leading to professional and official careers, because the latter presupposed language and other prerequisites which were not obtainable in the former. The teachers in the folk schools also represented a limited educational class. They were recruited from among the common people and their normal school training led only back into service as folk-school teachers. Admission to the universities was gained only by way of the secondary schools, with the result that the graduates of a normal school could not offer the work done in that institution as preparation for university and professional studies. The folk schools represented a closed system for pupils and teachers alike.

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[1] Tews, *Ein Jahrhundert Preussischer Schulgeschichte.*

[2] For a more extended account of the conflict between the liberal and the conservative positions regarding folk education and preparation of folk-school teachers see Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, pp. 139–171.

National Systems of Popular Education in Other European Countries. — The other German states followed the lead of Prussia in the establishment of comprehensive systems of school administration and in reorganizing the curriculum of the elementary schools. They also adopted the system of teacher training for the lower schools which Prussia had inaugurated. France made little progress with respect to common schools until 1833, when primary schools, as the lowest grade of instruction is named in France, were established by law in every commune, which is the smallest civil division in that country. The same law created normal schools in every department which were much like the teachers seminaries of Prussia. It was not, however, until after the Franco-Prussian War (1870) that France ceased to accept schools maintained by religious societies as satisfying the legal demand for a communal primary school. In legislation of the years 1881, 1882, 1886, and 1889, France organized a thoroughly secularized system of primary schools in which tuition was free and upon which attendance was compulsory. After passage of the law of 1882 there took place a noteworthy development of conscious nationalistic instruction designed to foster love of country and to create national solidarity among the working classes.

The English development toward a national system of elementary schools took place tardily. For many years, beginning with 1833, parliament through financial grants aided the efforts of voluntary societies which were maintaining a quasi-public system of elementary grade but did not take any steps to establish a public system until 1870. An Act of Parliament in that year called for the erection of school boards in every district which did not have an adequate supply of elementary school places, and at the same time continued the government aid to the schools which were being maintained by the voluntary societies. Compulsory attendance of all children was provided by an act of 1876, while the elementary schools were made entirely free in 1891.

It will be unnecessary for our purpose to detail the progress toward universal elementary education in the other European states, but it is important to recall the fact that in Europe the separation of the common schools, by whatever name they were called, from the secondary schools, which has been noted as obtaining in Prussia, was a universal practice in the nineteenth century. The two systems were parallel, not end-on. The lower did not lead into the higher; rather they were two separate and distinct institutions with different curricula, a different clientele, and different social objectives for their pupils. The primary schools were for the working classes. Instruction in language was limited to the vernacular, no modern foreign language and no classical language being taught. The pupil who continued to the end of the primary school went to work and in due course of time came up for his period of compulsory military training as a private in the ranks. The secondary schools received the pupil at the age of nine and held him until about the age of eighteen. Their curriculum represented a definite plan of work which at its conclusion marked the graduate as a liberally educated person and made him eligible for university studies, a professional career, the higher positions in the civil service, or an army or navy commission.

The Class Character of European Schools. — This class character of European schools, which continues in partial force in many countries to the present day, is difficult for the American student to understand. He is so accustomed to the ladder system of educational organization as it is in the United States that almost any other plan seems to be extremely unfair. Before passing any judgment on this factor it is well for us to recall that until after the first quarter of the nineteenth century in our own country, outside of the New England states, those who wanted even elementary education for their children had to pay for it unless they were to be regarded as recipients of educational charity. Our attitude was practically the " hands-off " attitude of England in the matter of education. And when the various states did begin the establishment of public systems of education, there was a tremendous influence operating in American society which was absent from the countries of Europe. In the proper place we shall consider the economic and social forces which caused a ladder system of education to develop in the United States instead of the closed-in, parallel systems of folk and secondary schools which were characteristic of European countries.

In Prussia and France and other European countries that developed systems of common schools, there was a vast social and economic gulf between the parents who sent their children to the common schools and those who paid the relatively large fees for secondary education. The latter class were well-to-do and educated. They were the leaders of business, the owners of capital, the members of the professions, and the rulers of the state.

The other class were poor. They were the peasants and artisans, and as such were likely to remain poor. Even if among them there were children of exceptional gifts, who were worthy of the very best educational opportunities, the handicap of their early social environment, the social prejudice that would inevitably operate against them, and the tremendous expense involved in getting established in a profession, made it seem unwise to encourage them to attempt to rise above their station. The economic conditions of America favored the rise of able individuals from humble circumstances and minimized all social distinctions. In European societies quite the opposite condition obtained.

Another difference between the European situation in the first half of the nineteenth century and that of the United States lay in the fact that in the latter country after about 1820 every adult male enjoyed equal political rights with any other. In Prussia, on the contrary, real manhood suffrage was not achieved until after the close of the Great War by the terms of the Constitution of Weimar. France has had universal suffrage only since 1871. England did not fully enfranchise her working classes until 1884. And even when the common people in the European countries have been given the right to vote, their long habit of social subservience and of looking to their betters for leadership has in many instances little affected the political domination of the liberally educated and wealthy portion of the population.

For the reasons that have been given, the European tradition respecting the common schools all through the nineteenth century was to consider it as a detached and subordinate type of education designed to serve the humble needs and expectations of a stable working-class population.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How long before the French Revolution had nationalism been an important principle in the political life of Europe? Why did not nationalism before that time bring about greater changes in popular education?

2. What was there in the new political constitution of France after 1789 that made universal education a logical necessity? What social changes which had occurred tended to give the masses a feeling that they had something at stake in the continuation of the Revolutionary government? Was there any practical reason why large numbers of Frenchmen should rather suddenly experience a strong feeling of patriotism?

3. Can you understand the desire of the leaders of the French Revolution to attach the on-coming generation to the new institutions? Were they justified in using the schools as agencies of propaganda to safeguard the social reforms that had been accomplished?

4. What were the circumstances of European politics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that caused so much emphasis to be laid on the military obligations of the citizens? Was there a tendency from the beginning for "love of country" to mean "hate of other countries"? Did Condorcet stress this provocative aspect of the education of citizens?

5. What was the condition of Prussia when her leaders turned to the schools for the production of efficient and loyal citizens?

6. Why is the example of Prussia more significant in the development of national education than that of France before 1870?

7. Outline the system of national education as developed in Prussia after 1807. What were the factors that made it efficient?

8. Why was the system of social accounting which Prussia developed important for the success of her educational plans? Is there a good system of social accounting maintained in your home state? Does this factor have any bearing on the success of your state in its plans for compulsory attendance of children at school?

9. In the position of Frederick William III, would you have felt the same misgivings over the extension of educational opportunity for the masses that he felt? Can a stable agricultural society absorb educated people to the same degree that a rapidly developing industrial society can?

10. Was a class system of education in substantial accordance with

the actualities of German and French society, and of European society in general, in the first half of the nineteenth century?

11. As you look at the actual achievement of common schools which resulted from nationalism as a social motive, how did they compare with the ideals of eighteenth-century liberalism? Did nationalism accomplish something that philanthropic philosophy would have been unable to accomplish unaided?

REFERENCES

Certain aspects of the developments discussed in the foregoing chapter are treated at greater length in E. H. REISNER, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, Chapters II, VIII, and IX, Macmillan.

CHAPTER XIII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR POPULAR EDUCATION, PARTICULARLY IN ENGLAND

During the same years when eighteenth-century aspirations for the common man were finding stubborn opposition in the actualities of French and German society, there was taking place in England a change in the ways and means of industrial production which has had more to do than any philosophic theory in determining the condition of the working population from that time down to the present. Upon that change has turned their mode of work, their wages, their way of life, their political status, and ultimately the matter of their education.

Until the second half of the eighteenth century the conditions of industrial production in England and most of Europe were those described in Chapter V of this book (see pp. 62 f.). The processes of manufacture were carried on in the homes of the workmen, which were located for the most part in semirural villages, where the artisan might have the run of the common for his cow and pigs and geese and cultivate a piece of ground as a partial means of sustenance. In England what was considered a fair wage was determined by the local justices of the peace, against whose ruling there was no recourse. The laws against combinations of workmen to get better wages carried the death penalty, and no workman could leave his employment without the consent of the justices. Indeed a laborer could not remove from one county to another without judicial sanction. Under such circumstances the lot of the English workingman was very moderate indeed, but also compatible with considerable security and contentment. It was even possible for an ambitious and able workman to become an employer of labor and raise himself in the economic and social scale, although, to be sure, the working population was extremely stable.

Shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century, however, there began a series of inventions which radically changed the conditions of industrial production. In the textile industry, the making of thread for weaving was improved by means of the spinning jenny (1764), Arkwright's spinning machine (1769), and Crompton's mule (1779). These last-named machines were operated by mechanical power and were able to increase tremendously the output of yarn for weaving. The improvement of the weaving process closely followed the increased production of yarn, in the invention of the power loom in 1784. Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1792 greatly facilitated the preparation of raw cotton for the later elaborative processes.

During the early stages of the development of power production, mills were erected beside streams of water, which furnished the energy to operate hundreds of spindles and looms at one time. In 1785 the first steam engine was employed to turn the machinery of a cotton mill, and after that date steam came more and more to be used as motive power.

The use of mechanical power greatly lessened the cost of industrial production, and the old generation of hand workers could not compete against the new conditions.

Factories sprang up everywhere, and the managers were able to determine the wages and the conditions of labor. Since women and children could tend the machines under the new system of production, they in large measure displaced men in the textile factories. Wages were low, hours were long, sometimes fourteen hours a day, and the factories were unsafe and unsanitary.

The Industrial Revolution and the Growth of Cities. — The factories came to be located, after the application of steam power made it no longer necessary to follow the water courses, in centers of population in order to secure the great numbers of employees that were required. But the factories were in themselves the cause of the concentration of population. Factories were set up in cities or towns, and in turn they caused the population of those cities and towns to grow in rapid strides. The industrial population left the rural environment, where for generations they had carried on their domestic trades, and crowded into cities which were in no sense prepared for the new hordes which flowed into them. Shocking conditions of overcrowding ensued. The water supply was deficient. There were no adequate means of sanitation and sewage disposal. There were no safeguards against fire and communicable disease. Oppressed by the long hours of labor and the conditions of their drab existence, the working population increased their consumption of gin and other high-test alcoholic liquors, with the result that there came about an appalling amount of drunkenness. In the absence of parents and older brothers and sisters, who were at work in the factories, the younger children roamed the streets, at the mercy of myriad suggestions of depravity.

Besides the drawing power of the factories and the depletion of the ranks of handworkers in the rural villages, a great change which was taking place in English agriculture during this same period caused further increase of the city population. New methods of agriculture introduced into England favored the consolidation of farm holdings in place of the scattered strips which were a holdover from medieval days. Much common land was also brought under individual ownership. As a result of these changes the small yeomen and small tenant farmers, who had followed easy-going methods of cultivation, were compelled to give up their holdings and accept one of two alternatives, either to become landless farm laborers working for hire or to go to the city and become factory hands. For many of them the only recourse was factory employment.

Social and Political Effects of the Industrial Revolution. — The industrial and social changes which characterized the industrial revolution took place with startling rapidity. A stable society was suddenly jolted out of old and endurable ways and into new conditions of existence for which it was in no sense prepared. The dislocations of the times resulted in a shocking amount of hardship for the working class. The employment of women and children in home industries had seemed natural and just, in so far as it was possible, but the killingly long hours of factory labor, the menace to health of factory conditions, and the absence of relief and recreation, made of woman and child labor a different and an ugly matter. Under the stable conditions of English industry in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the paternal control of wages and conditions of labor exercised by the justices of the peace did not cause any great outcry, and combinations of working men to improve conditions of labor were so infrequent that the harsh laws forbidding them made little difference. But when the working classes found themselves powerless against a system with which they could not treat and subject to all the cruelty of unrelieved freedom of competition, the laws against industrial combination for the improvement of wages and the conditions of labor became unbearably oppressive. The menace of a sinking working-class population, which every city revealed, and the ugliness, the discomfort, the unhealthfulness of the conditions of living among the dwellers in the city slums, were in themselves challenges to the better situated and more public-spirited portion of the population.

The immediate abuses of employment of women and children came to be remedied by a series of factory acts of which the first was passed in 1802 to regulate the employment of little children working as apprentices in the cotton mills. This legislation followed the revelation of the shocking abuse of helpless children sent from the populous towns to distant cotton mills by local overseers of the poor, who thus interpreted the old law which gave them the right to apprentice the children of paupers. Placed under the tender mercies of a works manager, these children, some of them seven years of age, worked often in two shifts of twelve hours each, the day shift tumbling at evening into beds still warm from the occupancy of the little workers who were to keep the spindles and the looms moving during the night. The act forbade the apprenticing of children under nine years of age; limited their working hours to twelve a day; forbade night work; required church attendance of children at least once a month, and laid down the educational requirement that every apprentice be given instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic in some part of every working day, and during the regular hours of employment, for at least the first four years of his or her apprenticeship, by a teacher employed for the purpose by the master or mistress of the apprentice.

This act was the first of a long series of industrial reforms which had by 1850 eliminated the worst features of woman and child labor and guaranteed to all employed children at least a minimum of schooling.

The unbearable circumstances in which the working man found himself, with outworn, inequitable laws denying him the only means of redress at his command, led him to demand the right to participate in the choice of lawmakers so that his interests might be considered. The law against combinations of workmen was considerably softened by an act passed in 1825, which made it legal for workmen to meet for the discussion of hours and wages, but which still forbade organization and the use of the industrial strike. However, the workingmen continued their agitation for the right to vote. At times they seemed measurably within reach of such political recognition, but more than a generation dragged on after the first reform of the suffrage in 1832 before the inevitable political drift of the new industrial system was recognized by the intrenched ruling classes of England. In 1867 the greater part of the working population of the cities were given the franchise, and in 1884 the same right was extended to the rural laboring class.

In France the period of rapid reorganization of the industrial system from domestic to factory production occurred under the Restoration Monarchy between 1815 and 1830. By the latter date the same industrial conditions had come to obtain in France as we have already described as existing in England. The working classes found themselves under the same disadvantages and sought the same relief as the English workers in the right to vote. They experienced a fleeting success in the Revolution of

1848, but only since 1870, under the Third Republic, has France had a system of manhood suffrage. Incidentally, it was only with the Ferry laws of the eighties that France established a thoroughgoing system of universal, free, compulsory popular education.[1]

The industrial life of Germany was little affected by the factory system until 1870, after which date that country made spectacular industrial progress. In Germany the worst excesses of the early stages of the industrial revolution were averted by wise governmental provisions. Paternalistic states adopted a form of state socialism which protected the worker against the hazards of accident and industrial disease, and by a system of sickness insurance and old-age pensions they guaranteed him a considerable degree of personal security. The workmen in Prussia were allowed to vote according to the constitution of 1850, which was in force until 1918, but a class system of suffrage, whereby the vote of a single man of wealth outweighed the power of hundreds of workingmen, and a system of intermediate elections, whereby votes were cast for electors rather than for measures or candidates, effectually muted the votes of the industrial class at the polls. The Prussian state continued up to the close of the World War to be ruled by the capitalistic and agrarian interests, which were essentially conservative, and the controlling position of Prussia in the German *Reich* was able to postpone, long after its logical time, the political maturity of the laboring classes.[2]

As one takes into account the full sweep of the industrial revolution, it is seen not only that the factory system of production created conditions which made it imperative for the working classes to strive for the right to vote, but that it also, by bringing together large numbers of men with common grievances, showed them the possibility and the power of organization to gain their ends. The industrial revolution put power into the hands of an organized and self-conscious working class, so that in the long run it was inevitable that its members should be given the right to participate fully and influentially in political life. By long and devious ways, the application of steam in industrial production led to political enfranchisement for the worker, which is another way of saying that ultimately the industrial revolution was to result in a no less significant revolution in the way of regarding the education of the workingman's children. The full educational implications of political democracy in European countries were, however, long delayed, and we may postpone considering them until a later time (see Chapter XXVI).

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[1] For a more detailed account of this development see Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, pp. 79–102.

[2] See Reisner, *Ibid.*, pp. 155–156, 176–184, 192–196.

The Efforts of Philanthropy to Meet the Educational Needs Created by the Industrial Revolution. — To return to the condition of demoralization created by the mushroom growth of the English industrial centers, it may be said that means of improvement followed at a long interval the need for them. Not until 1835, by the Municipal Corporations Act, were towns and cities provided with an improved system of government which gave them the power to take steps against the appalling conditions of city existence. By this act it became possible for them to inaugurate systems of lighting, policing, fire-protection, sanitation, water-supply, and other necessities of city life. A new poor law passed in 1834 made it possible for local authorities, in coöperation with the national government, to meet more adequately the pressing problems connected with extensive and concentrated pauperism. However, nothing was done before 1870 to give municipalities the legal means of coping with the crying need for schools for the teeming hordes of working-class children.

English practices and traditions were altogether unfavorable to an easy solution of the difficult educational problem which the industrial cities were compelled to face late in the eighteenth century and progressively thereafter. No obligation of the civil government, either local or national, to provide schools had ever been acknowledged, and the only legal provision for education occurred in the apprenticing of pauper children. The English common law held it to be no legal obligation upon a poor man to give his child a literary education. The most useful tradition for the new problem of education was that of the charity schools, founded in great numbers in the first half of the eighteenth century, which were primarily fostered by the Anglican church and were principally devoted to religious instruction according to the tenets of that faith (see Chapter VII, pp. 96 ff.). The extent of the new educational need created by the increase of city populations was too great, however, to be taken care of by means of the relatively expensive full-time charity schools, which attempted to provide the pupils with clothing and books in addition to giving them elementary instruction.

In response to the need for a cheaper form of schooling, Robert Raikes, a middle-class philanthropist of Gloucester, developed the plan of teaching the neglected poor children on Sundays. In Sunday schools they learned to read and received instruction along religious lines. The experiment of Sunday instruction received wide publicity and was generally approved and imitated. In 1785 a Sunday School Society was established in England for the promotion of this kind of instruction, which grew to tremendous proportions before the end of the century.

The Monitorial System. — The mode of instruction, however, which fitted best into the English situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the monitorial system invented and applied at about the same time by Dr. Andrew Bell, a clergyman of the Established Church, and by Joseph Lancaster, who began his career as a schoolmaster in one of the poorer parts of London. The system seemed to be sent by Heaven, for it made possible the instruction of hundreds of children in the same school under a single trained master, and it was amazingly cheap. In comparison with the annual cost per pupil of about seventy-five dollars, which was the expense incurred in educating one child according to the plan of the old charity schools, the monitorial school reduced the annual cost of instruction for each pupil to between one dollar and a dollar and a quarter.

There arose an active controversy between Bell and Lancaster, each claiming priority and superiority for his own system, but with one exception they were essentially the same: Bell emphasized religious instruction in terms of the faith and ritual of the Established Church, while Lancaster gave Bible instruction without any sectarian bias. Under the circumstances Bell found his supporters principally among the leaders and partisans of the Established Church and in 1811 an organization was formed to support and extend his work called "The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales." This name was, for obvious reasons, customarily shortened to the "National Society." Many influential members of the venerable S. P. C. K. were active in the founding of the new educational society, which for over a century has represented the special activities of the Established Church in popular education.

Lancaster's efforts were at first aided by churchmen, dissenters, and philanthropic liberals in general, but as the controversy between himself and Bell progressed his support came to be largely from among dissenters and liberals. In 1810, the Royal Lancasterian Association was formed to take over the educational ventures which were not succeeding too well under the management of Lancaster, and in 1814 this organization became the British and Foreign School Society.

In the course of years various other religious denominations formed separate societies to provide schools for poor children and to give religious instruction according to the tenets of their particular faiths.

The organization of a monitorial school and its methods of instruction and discipline are set forth in Joseph Lancaster's book entitled *Improvements in Education*, which was published in 1803. The foundation of the system was a careful process of grading so that children at the same stage of progress would be put together. Corresponding to this classification of pupils was a systematic arrangement of the subject-matter to be learned. In reading there were to be eight grades of pupils and eight units of reading materials. Class 1 studied the A-B-C's until letter perfect. Class 2 passed on to syllables of two letters, in which we can recognize the *a-b, ab's* of the seventeenth-century school. Class 3 studied words and syllables of three letters, class 4 of four letters, while class 5 was considered able to master words of both five and six letters in the same assignment. Class 6 read in the Testament or from Scriptural selections, and class 7 drew its lessons from the whole Bible. Class 8 was composed of "the best proficient in reading," who "may be admitted to the use of books for the *improvement of their minds, which the other classes are not allowed.*"

While the children were learning the alphabet, they were given exercises in tracing the letters in sand, thinly spread over boards for the purpose, or on slates. Further progress in writing followed closely the lessons in reading outlined above.

The division of classes and materials in arithmetic was very detailed, extending to the number of twelve. These divisions were:

Class 1. Pupils who are learning to make and combine units, tens, etc.
2. Addition
3. Compound addition
4. Subtraction
5. Compound subtraction
6. Multiplication
7. Compound multiplication
8. Division
9. Compound division
10. Reduction
11. Rule of three (ratio and proportion)
12. Practice

The curriculum was limited to reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. The materials for each class and each unit of work were to be placed on boards, which were to be hung on the walls in regular series and each on its appointed nail. Each class was to study only the series of lessons adapted to it. The method followed in mastering these lessons may be given in Lancaster's own words, used in describing a lesson in the alphabet according to what he calls the " new method."

> Another method of teaching the alphabet is by a large sheet of pasteboard suspended from a nail on the school wall: eight boys from the class are formed into a circle round this alphabet, standing

> in their numbers, 1, 2, 3, etc., to 8. These numbers are pasteboard tickets, with No. 1, etc., inscribed, suspended by a string from the button of the bearer's coat, or round his neck. The best boy stands in the first place; he is also decorated with a leather ticket, gilt and lettered "merit" as a badge of honor. He is always the first boy questioned by the monitor, who points to a particular letter in the alphabet: "What letter is that?" If he tells readily what letter it is, all is well and he retains his place in the class; but if he fail, then he forfeits it, together with his number and ticket, to the next boy below him who answers the question right.

The master in charge of the school was aided by monitors, who performed all the duties of instruction and most of those of management. It was the duty of the master to see that every monitor was perfectly instructed in the material contained on the charts which he was to teach. For the lowest six classes, it was thought best by Lancaster to choose the monitor in each case from the class above, but for the highest classes, the monitors might be chosen from the same classes, "as any boy who can read can teach, and the art of tuition in those classes depends only on the knowledge of reading and writing."

The monitorial school room was rectangular in shape, with long benches and aisle space for the unimpeded movement of the pupils. On the floor in front of the walls were painted semicircles which the children had to "toe" as they stood and recited the exercises printed on charts hung on the walls before them. The movements of the pupils followed a military order, in which the master was the captain and the monitors the subordinate officers who carried out the commands. Caps were slung on backs and slates hung by strings to the desk allotted to the pupil. Order was secured in large part through the tendency of children to fall in with any system of drill and orderly evolution. Great dependence was also placed on rewards both for good conduct and application at studies. When a boy succeeded in passing from one class to the next higher, he was allowed to choose a prize for himself, of a stated value, as a reward for his diligence. Lancaster says, " It is no unusual thing with me to deliver one or two hundred prizes at the same time. At such times, the countenances of the whole school exhibit a most pleasing sign of delight; as the boys who obtain prizes commonly walk around the school in procession holding the prizes in their hands, and a boy proclaiming before them, 'These good boys have obtained prizes for going into another class.' "

The modes of punishment followed by Lancaster were frankly medieval. A favorite means of punishment for a repeated offense was to fasten a wooden log which acted as a portable pillory around the neck of the culprit. This operated as a dead weight whenever he got out of the perpendicular. When logs were unavailing, it was common to fasten the legs of an offender together with wooden shackles, about a foot long, which greatly hindered locomotion. The pupil thus shackled was made to parade around the school. Occasionally boys were put in a sack or basket suspended to the roof of the school in sight of all the pupils. " This punishment," observes Lancaster, " is one of the most terrible that can be inflicted on boys of sense and abilities." Sometimes a Roman holiday was provided by yoking together a number of hardened offenders by a piece of wood that fastened about all their necks, and making them parade the school — walking backwards for good measure. Labels describing offenses were attached to culprits, who were made to walk up and down in their insignia of disgrace. When a pupil came to school with dirty face or hands and it seemed to be more the effect of habit than of accident, a girl was appointed to wash his face in sight of the whole school. " This usually creates much diversion, especially when (as previously directed) she gives his cheeks a few gentle strokes of correction with her hand.''

More hardly needs to be said of the monitorial system of instruction to enable one to place it pedagogically. Its affiliations are clearly with the best of seventeenth-century practice, except that it perhaps falls below this in the matter of discipline, rather than with the theory of the educative process as held by the followers of Rousseau. The system elaborated by Bell and Lancaster exhibits some improvement in mechanical efficiency as compared with the methods described in *L'école paroissiale* or with those of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, but like them it stressed memoriter learning of subject-matter and the mastery of school skills, with no attention to the development of the child's taste, of his concern for meanings, or of the habit and practice of thinking. And yet the acclaim which it received was phenomenal. Grave prelates, learned scholars, and high government officials united in its praise and welcomed it as the means of solving the problem of the education of the poor. Perhaps no one ever commended the monitorial system of instruction with less reserve or more enthusiasm than Governor De Witt Clinton of New York in an address which he delivered in 1809 at the dedication of the new building of the Free School Society, which had adopted Lancaster's method. "When I perceive," he said, "that many boys in our school have been taught to read and write in two months who did not before know the alphabet, and that even one has accomplished it in three weeks — when I view all the bearings and tendencies of this system — when I contemplate the habits of order which it forms, the spirit of emulation which it excites, the rapid improvement which it produces, the purity of morals which it inculcates — when I behold the extraordinary union of celerity in instruction and economy in expense — and when I perceive one great assembly of children, under the eye of a single teacher, marching with unexampled rapidity and with perfect discipline to the goal of knowledge, I confess that I recognize in Lancaster the benefactor of the human race. I consider his system as creating a new era in education, as a blessing sent down from Heaven to redeem the poor and distressed of this world from the power and dominion of ignorance.''[1]

Those who found so much to praise in the system viewed it, as Lancaster himself did, in contrast with the tedious, inefficient, and unstimulating instruction given by hundreds of school dames and elementary schoolmasters to whom the children who attended the Lancasterian schools would otherwise have resorted. In comparison with the fumbling individual system of instruction, the Lancasterian classes possessed snap and vim. What the children learned in the other type of school without interest and in a long time, in this they acquired easily, pleasantly, and quickly. It was an age that expected a great deal of social uplift to come from the mere mastery on the part of the children of the poor, of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and some knowledge of the Bible. The philanthropists who supported charity schools were not critical of methods of education nor cognizant of the deeper meanings of the educative process. And here was a method that taught children quickly and effectively the minimal essentials of which so much good was to come and did it at an amazingly low cost, — at a cost, indeed, which made it seem possible at last to provide the multitudes of poor children with an elementary education. It was even an advantage, in the opinion of many, that

[1] W. D. Bourne, *History of the Public School Society*, p. 19.

the monitorial system did not aim too high, for certainly it was not the intention of its middle- and upper-class benefactors to give the children of the poor an education that would put notions into their heads, make them discontented with their hard lot, and cause them to aspire to rise from it.

The Infant School Movement. — If the concentration of population in towns and cities resulting from the change in the industrial system raised the problem of providing an elementary education for boys and girls who were growing up illiterate, it no less brought to attention the unfortunate condition of many children of more tender years who suffered neglect from the absence of their mothers who were working in factories. The first notable effort to cope with this situation was that of Robert Owen, a philanthropic cotton magnate of New Lanark, Scotland, in 1816. Seeing the absence of maternal care and the altogether unfavorable environment in which the very young children of his factory community were growing up, he organized an institution which was designed to assume the care of children from the age at which they could walk. Many children of two years old and upward to the age of seven were received in a light airy room, equipped with suitable materials for busy work and play, with an outdoor playground attached, where under the care of maternal, if unschooled guardians, they were provided with a constructive environment. Little attention was given to teaching any of the school skills. Indeed, it was Owen's opinion that it was a disadvantage to force the little children into reading and writing and counting. Instead they were " to be taught the uses and nature or qualities of the common things around them by familiar conversation." The room was equipped with pictures and natural objects, and it was about these things that talk and question and answer developed. The main thing was to make the children happy, to give them an opportunity to play, and to provide a selected and constructive environment for them.

Besides being an educator of advanced views, Owen held conceptions of religion and of social organization which got him into difficulty and made it impossible for him to continue his educational experiment at New Lanark after 1824. However, his chief assistant, James Buchanan, opened a school for young children in London in 1818, and two years later Samuel Wilderspin, who owed something at least to Owen's example, established a school for children of pre-school age in Spitalfields, in the same city. Wilderspin gained a great deal of publicity for his plan of infant education, which was imitated in many places. In 1824, the Infant School Society was formed to further his efforts and propagate the new schools for young children. Wilderspin lectured extensively on his plan, taking with him a band of children to illustrate his methods. He also wrote a number of books describing the organization and the methods followed in his school.

The infant school as developed by Wilderspin continued some of the characteristics of Owen's plan, particularly in providing a place and materials for free play, but it also departed sharply from it in the stress which Wilderspin laid on the school skills. He found that very young children could make remarkable progress, under skillful instruction, in acquiring facts and mastering the mechanics of learning. Accordingly he stressed this type of work heavily. He thought that a child on leaving the infant school at about the age of seven " ought to know the first four rules of arithmetic and a good deal of the elements of geography; it ought to know how to read well enough to read any book in simple language ; it would have a tolerable knowledge of the quality of such things as immediately come under its notice ; it would have a slight knowledge of the elements of natural history, of the habits and manners of different animals, taught by pictures ; it would have a tolerable knowledge of the facts of the New Testament, which are communicated by pictures in the same way ; it would have a knowledge of form ; the child would be able to distinguish a triangle from a square and an octagonal pillar from any other pillar." [1]

Wilderspin's expectations of the infant mind were realized in the schools which he founded. The children, arranged in a gallery which gave them and the teacher mutually unobstructed views, were drilled until they became letter-perfect in an unbelievably intricate and extensive set of facts, and their performances became the wonder and delight of uncritical observers who rejoiced that the children of the lower classes were being so greatly improved.

The Infant School Society was a short-lived organization, but in 1836 the Home and Colonial Infant School Society was formed to carry on in the same field. One of the guiding spirits in the Home and Colonial Society was the Rev. Dr. Charles Mayo, who had visited Pestalozzi's Institute at Yverdon and who proposed to instill the spirit of Pestalozzi into the work of the infant schools. His sister, Elizabeth Mayo, was also influential in the same movement, both as an executive officer and as a writer of books describing the methods followed. Unfortunately the aspect of Pestalozzi's work which received greatest emphasis in this English experiment was its less inspired side. There was a great tendency to stress mechanical learning of many facts about " religion, nature, and wild animals " at the expense of other and more important educational outcomes. It was the training college of the Home and Colonial Infant School Society which served as the model for the Oswego Normal School founded in the State of New York in 1862. This institution and the influence upon education in the United States which it exerted will be taken up in a later connection. The work of the Home and Colonial Society flourished in Great Britain. In 1846 its training college began receiving subsidies from the national government, and in the Report of the Newcastle Commission (1861), infant schools were named as a recognized part of the supply of public elementary education in England and entitled to aid from the national treasury.

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[1] Testimony of Wilderspin before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, *Report*, 1835, quoted from D. Salmon and Winifred Hindshaw, *Infant Schools*, London, 1904, p. 63.

Popular Education in England to 1870. — Having observed some of the ways and means adopted by philanthropy to supply the poor with elementary instruction, let us turn to note the condition of popular education in England during the first century of the conditions introduced by the industrial revolution. For fifty years after the expiration of Arkwright's patent on the spinning machine and after the application of steam to operate textile machinery, which are usually taken as the events which ushered in the factory system at full pace, the children of the English working classes received such education as their parents were able or willing to pay for or such as philanthropic agencies supplied. It was not until 1833 that the first Parliamentary grant for education was allowed and it was only in 1846 that the national contributions became an important factor in the total supply of educational facilities for the poor.

During that period, however, public opinion was slowly being informed as to the magnitude and the pressing nature of the educational need. In 1807, a bill was introduced into Parliament which called for the establishment of a system of parochial schools aided through local taxation, but the English public was not yet aroused to the educational situation and the bill received little support. Nine years later a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed " to inquire into the education of the lower orders " of London, in the course of which inquiry the low state of popular education not only in London but in the country as a whole was revealed. Some of the testimony given before the Select Committee revealed a shocking condition of poverty and illiteracy among the children of the poor. Cheap and inefficient dame or other private elementary schools were the chief means of schooling for the poor, but thousands of parents were either too poor or too indifferent to the welfare of their offspring to procure for them even the rudiments of reading and writing. Some ineffectual headway was being made against the tide of educational destitution by a number of forms of educational philanthropy. There were some charity schools of the old type, which provided the children with food, books, and clothing, but their funds were too small to educate more than a very few children on such an expensive plan. There were also a number of parish schools maintained by the Anglican churches. In addition there were Sunday schools and some schools of the monitorial type, which made by far the best showing in terms of the numbers of children provided for.

One witness before the Select Committee described the conditions found to exist in the Covent Garden district of London from a house-to-house canvass made in 1813 by members of the West London Lancasterian Association. There were found to be 4790 children in the district canvassed, of whom 2042 were receiving some kind of education, while the rest, a majority of all, were absolutely without any means of schooling. In the closely packed tenements they found a different tenant in every room from ground floor to garret. Wretchedness and filth were in the extreme and in many places the occupants of the rooms had nothing to lie upon. A great many of them were subsisting by making clothes for the army, for which they could earn five pence per day. Many of the children were described as being without shoes and so destitute of clothing as to make it impossible to attend school in such rags as they possessed. They were also without instruction or the means of procuring it.

One of the witnesses, the secretary of the East London Auxiliary Sunday School Union Society, told of the establishment in the two years preceding of ten Sunday schools which in 1816 were teaching about thirteen hundred children. The schools were taught entirely by volunteer teachers without pay. The children attended five hours each Sunday, besides going to the church services. The witness said of the instruction given, " First, they were taught to read, and our main object is to teach them to read the Bible, and we exhort them to attend to all the moral duties of life. Our chief object is to convey religious instruction to the children, believing that to be the foundation of all moral good." The pupils were admitted at the age of six and could continue to the age of fourteen, but usually they did not remain in the school more than two years. The pupils were children of the poorest classes, although there were " several respectable persons' children " who attended on account of the religious instruction given. The witness said he had known a boy of fourteen who came into a Sunday school scarcely able to read a letter and who without any other instruction than that given in the Sunday school was able at the end of a year to read correctly in the Testament. However, such cases were to be regarded as exceptional, as the average length of time which it required for children to learn to read in the Sunday schools was about three years. On week evenings, writing was taught to a limited number of the pupils as "a reward for proficiency and good behavior."

The years between 1816 and 1833 saw a steady development of the work of the National Society and of the British and Foreign Society in establishing and conducting monitorial schools to serve the needs of the poor. In 1833 the English government made a grant of £20,000 a year "to be issued in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of schoolhouses for the education of the poorer classes of Great Britain." At the same time "statistical societies" were being formed in Manchester, London, Birmingham, Leeds, and other large commercial and industrial centers which had as their purposes to learn the facts of social and educational destitution and to bring these disturbing facts to public consciousness.

Report of the Select Committee of 1838. — In 1838 one of many select committees of the House of Commons on education made an extensive investigation of the education of the poorer classes in England and Wales. They calculated that the children from three to thirteen years of age constituted one-fourth of the total population. Of these, however, some were of families which were able to give them schooling, while in many of the industrial towns the children of the age group nine to thirteen were employed in factories for at least eight hours a day. Accordingly, deducting these classes, it was assumed to be necessary to make provision for the education of children to the number of one in eight of the entire population. That existing school facilities fell far short of this mark was clearly shown. In a certain district of London the proportion of school places was one to fourteen of the population instead of one to eight and the education of at least one-third of all pupils was gained in Sunday schools or very inefficient dame and day schools. In Bethnal Green the Committee found that there were "from eight thousand to ten thousand children not only without daily instruction, but for whom no means of daily instruction are provided." In that one parish thousands were said to be "growing up uninstructed in their duty either to God or man," and other parishes were almost as poor and destitute of the means of education as Bethnal Green. For seven selected parishes the amount of instruction given in schools for the poor other than the dame and day schools, which the Committee thought to be worthless, was in the proportion of one to twenty-seven of the population, taking the population figures of seven years earlier.

The newer industrial cities of England were in even worse case than London. In Leeds the number of poor children receiving an education likely to be useful was one to forty-one of population; in Birmingham one to thirty-nine, and in Manchester one to thirty-five. The average for fourteen of the most important industrial centers was one to twenty-four.

The Select Committee of 1838 recognized the urgent need of more adequate provision of schools for the poor and they recommended that such schools be provided to care for the instruction of children to the proportion of one in eight of the total population. Public opinion was also thoroughly aroused to the shocking educational conditions revealed in the Report, but there were factors in English life that made it difficult to agree upon any plan. The Established Church supporters desired a public system of instruction conducted under the auspices of the national church and with emphasis on religious instruction. The various dissenting groups, which represented a large and influential body of public opinion, desired religious instruction to be the foundation of the work of the schools, but they could not agree that it should follow the formulas of the Established Church. There was also a third influential party, the Liberals, who were convinced that religious and secular instruction should be separated and that the secular instruction, given in the schools, should be under the administration of the civil authorities. As a result of these divergent viewpoints, staunchly upheld by their partisans, it was impossible to find a plan of popular education which could gain and hold a parliamentary majority.

Extensions of Government Aid. — In 1839 the Committee of Privy Council on Education extended the operations of the government in education by laying down definite conditions according to which grants in aid were to be given, and organized a system of inspection to see that its conditions were lived up to. In 1846 the Committee inaugurated a new policy of aiding teacher-training institutions by a system of scholarships in those institutions and of subsidizing masters and mistresses for the education of pupil teachers. This effort to improve the teaching personnel involved considerable expansion of the government subsidy. The Committee went ahead without specific authorization from Parliament and annually presented its budget for ratification. In 1846 the national grants in aid rose to the sum of £100,000. The amount thus expended steadily increased until in 1854 it was £260,000, in 1857, £540,000, and in 1860 almost £800,000.

The Report of the Newcastle Commission. — In 1858 a parliamentary commission under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle was appointed " to inquire into the present state of popular education in England, and to consider what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people." The Report of the Newcastle Commission, which was made in 1861, shows that even at that late date, a strongly conservative philosophy of popular education held sway among the ruling classes of England. The existing class-division of society seemed to the Commission to be inevitable and the education proposed for the common people was very frankly of a type regarded as adequate and suitable for an inferior social group. The Commission thought that if the children of the poor were provided with such schooling as would enable them " to read and write with tolerable ease and to cipher well enough for the purposes of their condition in life " and ground them in the principles of religion, such was all the education that sound public policy called for. To attain such proficiency, all that was necessary was attendance at an infant school from the age of three and at a day school from the age of six or seven until the age of ten, eleven, or twelve. It seemed unnatural to the Commission to resist the desire of parents to put their children at gainful employment when they had arrived at the proper age, physically speaking, for labor, and instead of recommending a later legal age of employment and a system of compulsory attendance they recommended that public effort be directed principally to increasing regularity of attendance rather than to prolonging its duration. They found it a matter of considerable satisfaction that even under existing circumstances it was possible " for at least three-fifths of the children on the books of the schools . . . to learn to read and write without conscious difficulty, and to perform such arithmetical operations as occur in the ordinary business of life."

The First Truly Public Elementary Schools in England. — The English long continued to rely upon philanthropy aided by national grants to meet the problem of education of the masses, but in 1870, three years after the second Reform Act had enfranchised most of the city-dwelling artisans and laborers, the educational situation continued to be far from satisfactory. The government grants still failed of reaching the majority of the children for whom they were intended. Only two-fifths of the children of the working classes between the ages of six and ten were on the registers of the government-aided schools and only one-third of those between the ages of ten and twelve. Of the former age group, the grants had helped about seven hundred thousand and left unhelped at least five hundred thousand. In the large cities the failure of the system had been most complete. In Liverpool, out of eighty thousand children who ought to receive an elementary education, twenty thousand attended schools in which the education they received was worthless, and twenty thousand attended no schools whatever. In Manchester sixteen thousand out of sixty-five thousand children went to no school at all, and conditions in Leeds and Birmingham were equally bad.

The Liberal Government, of which William E. Gladstone was prime minister, determined that it was time that England should educate the voters who had been created by the Reform Act of 1867. To this end an Elementary Education Act was passed in 1870 which created school districts where there was a deficiency in the existing supply of elementary schools and provided for the election of school boards in these districts to exercise control of the schools to be established. These schools were to participate in the national grants in aid on the same basis as the voluntary societies, and in addition they were to be supported by local taxes. By this act England was provided with elementary schools for all the children who could be expected to attend them. Legislation of 1876 and 1880 made attendance at school compulsory for all children up to the age of ten and made it necessary for children between the ages of ten and thirteen to have passed a certain grade of proficiency, left optional with local school boards, before they were eligible to certificates permitting them to engage in half-time employment. In 1891 all elementary instruction was made free.

The English establishment of a public system of elementary schools, as we have seen, took place by means of a long and tortuous process of evolution, marked at every stage by compromise between traditional practices and attitudes on the one hand and new social conditions and needs on the other. It was only at long last, after many partial measures had been tried and found wanting, that the conservative English society met the necessity of providing the opportunities for education of the working classes which the changes brought about by the industrial revolution had made inevitable.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Just what changes in the methods of industrial production are described by the term, the industrial revolution?

2. What social changes followed in the wake of the new industrial system?

3. Explain why the working class, under the conditions of factory production, were led to seek the right to vote. How long was their political recognition postponed in England? In France? In Germany?

4. Why did the conditions in the new industrial cities lead to heightened efforts of educational philanthropy?

5. Can you see any analogy between the monitorial system of instruction and the factory system of production of goods? If so, what?

6. Judged by its quality of instruction, did the monitorial system owe much to the educational philosophy of Rousseau or to the educational practices of Pestalozzi?

7. Can you see any relationship between the monitorial system and the system of the Brothers of the Christian Schools?

8. Explain the slow progress of England toward a public system of common schools.

9. Can you discover the aspects of Pestalozzi's methods that led to the formal system of instruction followed by the Home and Colonial Infant School Society?

10. Would it be fair to say that the English government did nothing for popular education before 1870? Just what change in policy occurred at that time?

REFERENCES

The social and political movements, as well as the educational developments of the foregoing chapter are treated at greater length in E. H. REISNER, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, Chapters XI, XII, and XIII.

The monitorial system is discussed in S. C. PARKER, *History of Modern Elementary Education*, pp. 101–107. The entire philanthropic movement in education, with some attention to the monitorial system, is discussed in F. P. GRAVES, *A History of Education in Modern Times*, particularly pp. 49–75.

D. SALMON and WINIFRED HINDSHAW, *Infant Schools*, London, 1904, contains much material of value regarding the work of Robert Owen and Samuel Wilderspin.

Chapter XIV

THE FRONTIER AND DEMOCRACY IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

A Résumé of the Social Forces Affecting Education. — One by one have been considered the great social forces that have conditioned the development of the common school, and of education in general, during the nineteenth century. Each of these forces has been placed in perspective against the generous ideals of eighteenth-century liberals and has been seen as the registration of at once a partial victory and a partial defeat of the brilliant hopes of that optimistic band of wishful thinkers. The common man, given his chance for a short space of time during the French Revolution, was again crowded into the background while the middle classes of France appropriated the power which had once belonged to kings. The new mass nationalism, which superseded the theoretic cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century, indeed had seen the necessity of cultivating the masses, of husbanding man power, of developing economic strength, of enlisting the loyalties of all, even the humblest citizens, but the organization of that program of husbandry and education took place according to existing social classifications. The great masses of the people were seen to deserve education, but of a sort that did not contemplate any substantial change in their social standing nor any noteworthy increase in their opportunities for social advancement or for political power. The masses were to be improved through education, but it was not contemplated that they should in any degree change their rôle of political impotence.

The third great change in nineteenth-century society which definitely affected the common people was the thoroughgoing modification of the industrial world which came about through the application of power in the factory production of goods. The working classes experienced, through this industrial innovation, losses in comfort and security. The new factory methods created the modern city with its myriad social problems; it seriously interfered with customary home conditions; it introduced woman and child labor to a degree, and in a mode, never before known. The middle classes — the share owners of the factory world — found themselves in the enjoyment of unexampled economic advantage and the working classes found themselves in a condition of accentuated bondage. In England and France, and also in the industrial towns of the United States, as will be seen in detail later, the need of caring for the neglected children of the teeming cities became so imperative that philanthropy multiplied its efforts to provide remedial measures in the form of free schools for the poor, conducted for the most part according to the monitorial plans of Lancaster and Bell.

The Frontier in the United States. — There yet remains to be considered a powerful social factor which has in a unique way affected the development of the common school in the United States. This factor consists in the change from Old World attitudes and practices which was brought about by the ease with which new homes could be formed and new careers carved out in the cheap land which throughout all of the early history of our country was easily available beyond the latest line of settlement. The term frontier has been accepted to describe this sparsely settled area where land could be purchased at low cost.

In a very true sense even the earliest settlements in English America were frontier for the Old World, and after the area close to the Atlantic seaboard was taken up, the land lying to the westward constituted a frontier with reference to the longer settled East. Accordingly it would be erroneous to suppose that the social changes which have come to be associated with the frontier first put in their appearance after the Revolutionary War. The frontier was at the bottom of many of the social and political conflicts of the colonial period and its influence on the education of that era was profound. However, the large significance of the frontier in American life and education is best seen in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the term came to apply specifically to the lands to the westward or northward of the area included within the original colonies. So long as the frontier was tied up with the seaboard towns and the plantations of the coastal plain, the balance of power remained with the older and more wealthy settlements. But when Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio were admitted as states the full meaning of the part which the frontier had played and was to play on the American scene becomes clearly visible.

Social Influences of the Frontier. — It has been seen (see p. 58 ff.) that the early colonists brought with them the English conviction that only the well-born and the well-to-do should participate in political government. During the one hundred fifty years and more which elapsed between the first settlements and the Declaration of Independence, here and there and in various degrees the restrictions upon the suffrage had been lowered in the various colonies, but at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789 only four of the then independent states gave the right to vote to any male citizen who did not own real property, and in those four states the payment of taxes continued to be a condition of enjoying the suffrage. While the language of the Declaration of Independence reflected strongly humanitarian attitudes and seemed to promise social recognition to the masses, the economic conflicts of the period following the war for independence caused the ruling classes to tighten their hold upon the government. Indeed, the Fathers who wrote the Constitution and presented it to the states for adoption strongly believed that landless men, non-taxpayers, and all persons who had no property to be affected by legislation were unfit to participate in the making of laws and in their administration. It has been estimated that less than one-fifth of the entire white male population of the thirteen original states enjoyed the right to vote on the adoption of the federal constitution.

It is a matter of significance that the new states admitted to the Union came in with the restrictions upon male suffrage either entirely removed or made insignificant. Vermont, for long a part of the New England frontier, was admitted to the sisterhood of states in 1790 with a constitution providing for manhood suffrage. Kentucky, admitted in 1792, had the same provisions; while Tennessee, admitted in 1796, retained the freehold qualification without specifying the value of holdings required, which under the conditions of landownership in that state at that time was hardly any restriction whatever. Ohio, admitted as a state in 1803, provided in its constitution that the voter had to be a taxpayer, but one year later even this moderate qualification was removed. With the exception of Mississippi, every state admitted to the Union after 1812 provided for manhood suffrage in its original constitution.

The explanation of this decided change in political participation lies in the general social situation discoverable in the new settlements. In the first place there was little difference of wealth among the settlers, as the well-to-do, established, and successful members of the old society did not to any large extent participate in the movement into the West. Those who went did so to better their position, to escape failure or the frustration of their ambitions. Small landholders who desired more and better land; renters who wished to own land in their own right; servants who craved to be their own masters; young persons who saw no prospect of setting up for themselves to advantage at home; artisans who found the industrial situation unfavorable; adventurers who wished to try their luck, convinced that the West promised more for them than their present station — all these entered into the restless army that pressed farther and farther into the unsettled, untamed frontier to take up the stern task of subduing the wilderness to the uses of life. Among such a company there was relatively little difference of social position to begin with, while the way of life which the frontier compelled tended still further in the direction of social equality.

The conquest of the wilderness called for close fighting. The weapons used were the axe, the wedge, the maul, the plow, the grubbing hoe, the scythe, the cradle, the spinning wheel, the hand loom, the rifle, and all the other tools and utensils which were needed in the cutting out of the forest, the cultivation of crops, the erection of dwellings and cattle shelters, and in the elaboration of the raw materials of forest and farm into clothing, food, and other means of crude comfort. In the earlier stages of any frontier development every one worked with his hands, making a personal, physical thrust against the dangers and difficulties that surrounded him.

Among the settlers of the new frontier communities there was substantial economic equality. The conditions of existence called for many coöperative undertakings, which must have fostered the sense of mutual interdependence. Above all there was similarity in their activity, in their way of life, even in the very deprivations which they suffered. It is quite to be expected, then, that when the establishment of civil governments became necessary, every man should count as one and should participate equally with any other both as voter and as potential officeholder. With equal reason there developed on the frontier a strong sense of social equality. Every man felt entitled to consider himself as good as any other. The class distinctions which the older East retained as a modified form of the sharply-defined Old World social classification, were largely lost sight of in the new American republic expanding westward.

The total influence of the frontier in American life and institutions is not to be appreciated, however, without taking into account some negative aspects which it undoubtedly exhibited. Life on the frontier was bare and harsh, lacking not only in creature comforts, but in spiritual satisfactions as well. There was small opportunity for association with other persons. The contact with the more settled civilization of the East, with its relatively rich supply of experiences that gave tone and variety to life, was sporadic and difficult to effect. Means of communication were all but lacking. Books and newspapers were few. The mute things about the frontiersman — his dwelling, his furniture, his clothing — fell to a dull, drab level of bare utility. He had no books, or at the best, but few of them. It was all but impossible to maintain religious services, even taking advantage of the ministrations of poorly educated circuit-riding preachers. No less difficulty was experienced in providing schools. The wide separation of farmsteads made it difficult to secure enough children to make up a school within practicable distance from the homes of the pupils. The low value of the real estate and the general poverty of the inhabitants made the matter of school support extremely difficult, and the raw new land had few candidates for the office of schoolmaster. There was, in addition, small motive for acquiring more than the very rudiments of education. The business of the farmer called for little use of reading and writing and the arithmetic used in his vocation was elementary indeed. There were few books and newspapers to stimulate the desire to read. It is small wonder, then, that many persons found it only a slight inconvenience and hardly a matter of social disgrace to be unable to read and write. Against the account of the frontier with American civilization we must, accordingly, post a heavy debit of loss with respect to comfort, refinement, and education.

Early American Life Predominantly Rural. — To lay too much stress on the conception of the frontier in early American life, however, may obscure the equally important consideration that during the whole of the colonial period and during the first sixty or seventy years under the Federal Constitution, the population of the United States was overwhelmingly rural. During the entire eighteenth century and including the census of 1820, the proportion of persons living in cities of eight thousand remained less than five per cent of the whole. When the Federal Constitution was adopted, twenty-nine out of every thirty inhabitants lived in towns which fell below the urban scale of population, in rural villages, or in the open country. In 1820 nineteen out of every twenty inhabitants were classified as rural. In 1790 the city of New York boasted of a population slightly over thirty thousand and the only other cities in the Union which exceeded ten thousand were Philadelphia, Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore. In 1820 New York had grown to a population of 123,706, and there were twelve other cities which had passed the ten thousand mark. One of these, New Orleans, was the only city of that size lying west of the Alleghenies. Cincinnati, the metropolis of the West, was at that time a city of 9642 inhabitants, while Pittsburgh, with over seven thousand inhabitants, and Lexington, Kentucky, with over five thousand, were the only other towns west of the Alleghenies which reached the latter figure.

During the period from 1790 to 1820 the percentage of increase of the total population was uniformly high, being slightly more than one-third for each ten-year period. The gross population grew from a little less than 4,000,000 in 1790 to 9,600,000 in 1820. But in all that time the city population, as classified by the census reports, gained only 1.6 per cent on the rural. During that period the vast majority of the people of the United States were living on farms or at least close to the soil. Indeed, the proportion of urban population remained as low as 16.1 per cent of the whole according to the census of 1860.

A further sociological factor of considerable importance in early American life lay in the mode of distribution of the rural population. In contrast with the European grouping of farmers in villages, with their fields lying round about, the American farm was an isolated unit, with farm dwellings widely separated. The farm unit in the western states followed the conditions of the government survey, according to which a township was a tract of land six miles square, divided into thirty-six sections or lots, each containing 640 acres. Farms were usually tracts of from eighty acres upward in equal multiples of that amount. Farmers established their dwellings and barns and stock-shelters at the most convenient point on their holdings, which were of such a size that under usual circumstances the farmers lived at considerable distances from one another. This distribution of population made it difficult to arrange coöperative social enterprises, among which the matter of schools was one. Moreover, it seemed to breed a spirit of almost truculent independence among the dwellers on the land. The farmer was an extreme individualist, determined to live his own life and unwilling to sacrifice any element of personal self-direction.

Local Autonomy in Civil Administration. — In the early years of New England settlement, it is true, the village system was followed. The groups of farmers holding the rights to an entire town lived together in a center, within easy reach of the meeting house and the school. During the eighteenth century, however, the back parts of towns were filled up and farms were located far from the town center and in the open country. In the course of the same century many local functions, such as road building and the maintenance of schools, came to be looked after, not by the town as a whole, but by the inhabitants of smaller localities or communities that came in the course of time to be known as districts. By 1789 in Massachusetts the district was the actual unit of school administration and the same tendency developed concurrently in the rest of New England, excepting Rhode Island, and only a very little later in New York. In the new states which profited by the federal grant of the sixteenth section in each township for the aid of common schools (see p. 208 f.), the terms of the grant made the citizens of the township the recipients of this bounty, but the district system was adopted as the means of administering it.

The broad extent of the several states, the sparseness of population, the existence of wide areas of wilderness, and the difficulty of communication and travel at once made unnecessary a great deal of social control and assigned such of it as there was in large measure to local authority. The state was legally recognized as the unit of political organization and the authority of the state as superior to the powers of the communities, but by consent and long-established practice there developed in the United States a strongly intrenched social habit of local self-government. Communities went their way little conscious of the exercise of power by state governments, and in most matters determined their own activities.

The administration of education followed the general rule of local autonomy. In such states as had general education laws, like Massachusetts and Connecticut, the maintenance of schools was from the beginning left largely in the hands of the town officials, and after 1789 the administration of the common schools had passed into the hands of the district trustees. In other states, when local education authorities were created, they were given almost complete freedom in carrying out the state laws regarding the common schools. The state law might declare that a school should be or might be maintained by the local communities, but it did not, in these early years, determine what sort of school it should be, what branches should be taught, what qualifications the teachers might be expected to present, or any other detail of the management of the school. The local school trustees were hardly controlled in any wise by the state government. In their little sphere they were practically supreme.

Social Influence upon American Education. — When one considers the social conditions which obtained in the United States during these early decades of its history, the causes of many of the characteristic features of its organization of education become clear.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the American scene was the substantial equality that existed among its citizens. To be sure there were differences between man and man. Some were rich and some were poor, but the great majority were neither rich nor poor. There was no leisure class and no one found it a disgrace to work for his living. Indeed the disgrace was rather thought to occur when one lived without working. Some also were educated and some illiterate, but the great majority were neither. Even the so-called learned professions, the law, medicine, and the ministry, were largely filled with men who had slender technical training following a common school education. Many substantial men of business and more than one politician of national fame had enjoyed little or no formal schooling. Certainly there was no "educated class" who had enjoyed a secondary and university education and whose sons were fated from birth to tread the same academic paths.

The United States was a land of opportunity. Out of its vast areas of cheap land, its abundance of natural resources, and its bounding vitality, careers of fame and fortune opened to the boy of parts and pluck, without regard to the economic condition of his parents. Social change occurred with bewildering rapidity. The son of the poorest farmer might rise to be a powerful man of business or an influential and honored public official. Whole families imbued with the spirit of industry and thrift might rise within a generation from the most insignificant circumstances to be the leaders of their communities.

The Source of the Educational "Ladder." — Out of these allied characteristics of equality and opportunity in American life was to arise the continuous or "ladder" system of schools which is probably the outstanding feature of American education. When public education was finally provided in this country in the decades following the first election of Andrew Jackson as president, it contained no distinction, such as that exhibited in the schools of Germany, France, and England, between the schools of the masses and the schools of the classes. There were poor, to be certain, but poverty was a condition and not a status. The ups and downs of fortune in the new land were too frequent and incalculable, and the steady economic drift too definitely upward, to make it possible to identify any permanent class of poor. Moreover, outside of the larger cities, the differences of fortune, education, and social background between the better-off portion of the community and the less well-to-do were so slight and the educational expectations of all were so moderate that it was accepted as a matter of course that there should be one school to be attended by all the children in the community. And when the educational facilities provided by a community were extended so as to provide schooling beyond the common school branches, all children, having shared in common the first and lowest grade of education, were thought of as being equally eligible to the higher. The high school was simply an extension upward of the common educational opportunity offered in the elementary school, — a fourth room added to an existing three-room system. Accordingly, when the characteristic American system of public education developed after about 1830, there was no separation of the elementary and the secondary schools. The high school was just a higher grade in a unitary system instead of a parallel type of superior education designed to serve the educational needs of a wealthier social group, as was the case with secondary education in Europe.

Popular Control of Education. — The social and political conditions of the first two generations of the history of the United States likewise reveal the cause of many characteristic features of its educational administration. In Germany the source of improvement of the common schools was a determination arrived at by the government and published as a royal prescript. In France, the ruling classes effected changes through laws passed by the national legislature which represented them, and the laws became the rule of practice everywhere. In the various states of the United States, however, the means of educational improvement were much more intricate. There was no clearly defined prerogative of the state authorities to demand educational improvements of the local communities, while on the contrary there was a substantial tradition of local automony in the details of school administration. The situation was also different in the United States in that after 1825 in the northern and middle and newer western states political power rested in the hands of the people. Unpopular school legislation, passed in advance of public sentiment, could be repealed, and frequently was repealed, by the simple process of electing legislative representatives opposed to the law. A law calling for educational improvement was secure only when the voting public had been convinced of its desirability. To be sure, much of the educational improvement which has taken place, perhaps most of it, has been registered in state laws, but that legislation in most cases has had as its source the improved practice of local communities acting on their own initiative out of the abundant prerogatives which they possessed. There has also been a great deal of special legislation giving certain cities or other communities the legal sanction for proposed educational changes and from which the rest of the state was exempt. The characteristic progress of school improvement through state legislation has been, first of all, a permissive law to allow special privileges to certain localities or to give legal sanction to practices locally followed without express legal authority. The general acceptance of a practice allowed by law has later led to its being made mandatory when such legislation was likely to have the backing of the voters of the state as a whole. It is perhaps not too much to say that the source of most of the progress which has been made in American education has lain in the initiative of local communities, possessed as they are of a great deal of local autonomy, and readily favored with special legislation in behalf of their innovations, rather than in the wholesale mandate of state laws.

The negative aspect of the operation of this principle of local autonomy in school administration is readily seen in the earlier educational history of the United States and as connected with the conditions of the suffrage and the social situation in general. The people were in possession of the balance of political power before much progress, outside of New England, had been made in the establishment of public schools. The public which had to be educated to see the need of a comprehensive and universal system of schools was itself an uneducated public. The conditions of life did not call for a great deal of schooling. The parents had done with little and the children might be expected to get on with no more. An ingrained habit of independence made the well-to-do, in many cases, unwilling to contribute to the education of their shiftless neighbor's children, while at the same time it made the poor man resentful of any interference with his right to let his children grow up without education or suspicious of free schools as a sneaking form of charity.

The way to school improvement was through the votes of the people and the only way in which the votes could be secured was by means of campaigns to secure majorities for the issues raised. This process of educating the voters was more easily accomplished in the cities than in the rural districts. Pressing and visible need was there a potent argument; the working classes favored better conditions of education; and the superior financial resources of the cities made improvements possible. For this reason the story of the progress of American education until well past the middle of the nineteenth century deals almost entirely with the conditions of education in towns and cities. In the countryside, change for the better was obstinately slow, partly through lack of financial resources and partly by reason of the large powers which resided in lethargic local school authorities and conservative rural voters.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why has it been unnecessary to speak of the influence of the frontier on education in European countries?

2. Explain why manhood suffrage as the basis of political life developed on the American frontier.

3. What elements of social equality were characteristic of frontier society? Are you acquainted with any localities where the essential equality of frontier conditions continues to exist in the United States today?

4. Is there more democracy in the western part of the United States today than in the eastern? If so, is it because the West is more fortunate or more virtuous in this respect than the East?

5. Compare the distribution of rural population in the United States with that of European countries. Has this difference been a factor in the development of school administration in the United States?

6. Show how social and economic conditions in the United States worked against the adoption of the parallel system of class schools characteristic of European countries.

7. Recalling the system of school administration developed in Prussia after 1807, would you say that it gave much control over education to local citizens? Contrast the Prussian system in this respect with the American basis of school administration.

8. Why have campaigns to educate the voters been necessary adjuncts of school progress in the United States? Does this necessity still exist? Give examples from your own experience.

REFERENCES

The importance of the frontier in American life is shown in FREDERICK J. TURNER, *The Frontier in American History*, Holt, and in F. V. PAXSON, *History of the American Frontier*, Houghton Mifflin.

The origin and spread of the district system are well described in E. P. CUBBERLEY, *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 41–44.

CHAPTER XV

THE COMMON SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES UNTIL ABOUT 1830

As one regards the conditions of education in the United States during the first forty years of the new national life, one is impressed with the fact that the older colonial attitudes and practices regarding education continued to hold sway, but that the total situation revealed extremely significant elements of change and progress. During that period, the continuing power of the original Puritan impulse made New England easily the most advanced section of the United States with reference to public education, while during the same time New York was the most progressive of all the states in improving its system of schools. The middle and southern states continued to rely on private initiative to supply education, but took steps, in some cases very indecisive, to provide free tuition for indigent children.

In order to understand the total common school situation in the country during the period under consideration, it will be necessary to consider it by parts and with reference to specific social conditions and educational developments. The New England situation deserves analysis. The progress in New York constitutes a chapter by itself. The effort of the middle states to provide free tuition for the poor is an important step in the direction of free public education. The heightened activities of state governments in regard to education are symptomatic of larger participation in the future. And above all in importance as a forecast of universal, free, public schools are the new and increased responsibilities which the growing cities of the time were accepting with reference to the education of the children of the poor.

The Common School in New England and New York.—For the first generation following the birth of the nation, the New England states and New York were easily the leaders in public education. In her original state constitution, Massachusetts, by means of a strong statement favoring the continuation and improvement of the colonial policies toward education, affirmed the good faith she had kept in the matter of public schools during a century and a half. New Hampshire soon after adopted the exact wording of the Massachusetts constitutional clauses regarding education, and Vermont in her original constitution came out for a public system of schools. Connecticut continued her colonial policies without essential change. Since Maine was a part of Massachusetts until 1820, the whole of New England, excepting Rhode Island, was thus a land of common schools provided by legal mandate and maintained by civil officials.

The support of schools in whole or part by means of taxation had long been the accepted practice in New England. By 1789 the prevailing tendency in Massachusetts was to make the lower, or common, schools free to all pupils and in 1827 a law was passed making all grades of public schools open to all children free of tuition charges. Connecticut in 1795 greatly strengthened a common school fund begun half a century before by applying to the perpetual uses of public education the returns from the sale to the federal government of the Western Reserve in northern Ohio, which amounted to $1,200,000. The distribution of the interest on the state fund was applied in lowering the cost of education to the various communities and went far toward achieving gratuity of instruction in the public schools.

New York recognized the state's obligation in the matter of education by creating in 1784 a Board of Regents to have oversight and control of secondary and higher education, but it was not until 1795 that the first step was taken in that state to stimulate the provision of public common schools. In that year town school committees were created to supervise the common schools and apportion the annual grant of $100,000, which was appropriated by the legislature for a five-year period to aid school districts in the maintenance of common schools. This subsidy was discontinued in 1800, but twelve years later a state-wide district system of common schools was instituted with state aid for all schools maintained. A state superintendent was provided at the same time whose activities were exclusively related to the common schools. Although this office was abolished in 1821, the secretary of state was designated as *ex officio* superintendent of common schools. By means of the legislation of 1795 and 1812 New York made great strides in public education and deserves to be classified with the New England group in regard to its educational attitudes and activities.

The New Western States and the Influence of the Federal Land Grants for the Support of Common Schools. — Among the agencies that were, during the first half century of nationhood, preparing the United States for a policy of universal, free, public education, a place of considerable importance must be assigned to the federal policy of land grants in support of education. This policy was prepared for by an ordinance of the Continental Congress which in 1785 called for the survey of an easterly portion of the Northwest Territory. The plan of survey established the so-called Congressional township six miles square, subdivided into thirty-six lots or sections.

Congress was stimulated to make this survey by the proposal of a group of New England military leaders to purchase land in Ohio. The survey was necessary as a preliminary to sale, and as a further inducement to the New England buyers and at their suggestion, the Ordinance of 1785 stated that the sixteenth lot of each township should be reserved to the inhabitants of the township for the support of schools.

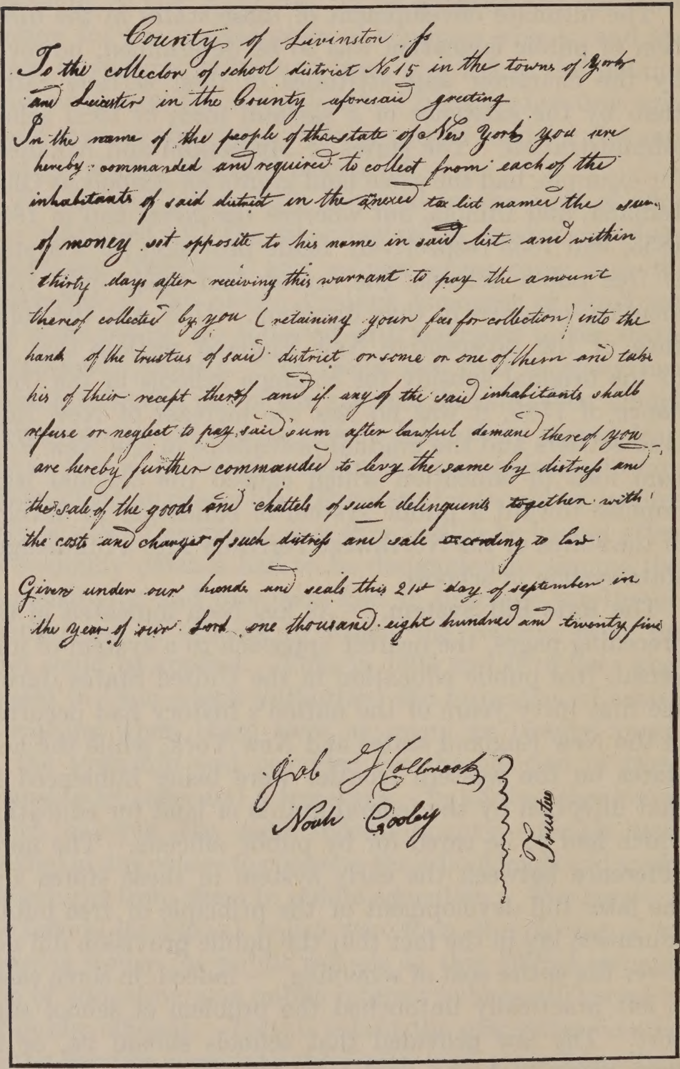
No sale of land occurred, however, under the terms of the survey ordinance until in 1787, when Manasseh Cutler, as agent for another body of New Englanders known as the Ohio Company, purchased from the federal government one and a half million acres of land in Ohio. It was due largely to the management of Mr. Cutler that Congress made over to the purchasers not only the sixteenth section for the support of schools, but also the twenty-ninth section for the support of religion and two whole townships of land for a seminary of higher learning. The purchase of land by the Ohio Company was followed by a purchase on the part of a group headed by John Cleves Symmes of a million acres under much the same conditions.

So far, however, the federal government in making these grants of land in the territory of Ohio was dealing with private parties and had enunciated no state policy. But, after the Ohio and the Symmes companies had failed, and when the territory of Ohio presented its plea for admission to the Union as a state, the federal government continued in modified form the policy of subsidizing public education by means of land grants, which had been promised in the original survey ordinance of 1785. According to the terms of admission of Ohio in 1803 every township in the state was to be granted the sixteenth section for the maintenance of common schools, and the three townships which had been granted to the defunct land companies for the support of higher education were made over to the state. The grants of land for the support of religion were not continued.

The federal policy thus initiated in the case of Ohio was continued with the other new states created out of the Northwest Territory, and as new areas came into the possession of the nation through conquest or purchase, the same policy was followed with reference to the states successively formed. The result was that in every new township created out of the national domain, even though it existed only on the surveyor's map, there was at least one section which stood as a direction post pointing toward a public system of schools. These sections could be devoted only to school purposes, and they had to be looked after. Accordingly officials had to be designated to assume this responsibility and provision had to be made for the establishment of schools to which the returns from the land could be applied. Thus in 1806 and 1810 laws were passed in Ohio which authorized the formation of school townships when there were as many as twenty voters in the township and provided for the election of three township trustees and a treasurer. In all the other states which enjoyed the same federal bounty, officials were created in due course to conserve the school lands and apply the returns from them to public education. The result of the federal land-grant policy was, then, the placing of an entering wedge for public schools in this official recognition of education as a public interest to be participated in by public officials. To this extent the new states created on the frontier came into the Union with a predisposition toward a public system of common schools.

The ultimate development of these states in the direction of public education was to be determined, however, by the character and attitudes of their settlers rather than by the existence of a skeletal form of local school administration. The states of Mississippi and Arkansas, for example, had the same land grants for schools as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, but whereas the latter had in 1852, 1853, and 1855 respectively made provision for a system of free public schools, the former had made only rudimentary progress in that direction. If it was the influence of the prospective New England settlers that led to the original subsidy for common schools in the Ordinance of 1785, it was no less the increase of New England settlers and the gradual prevalence of the New England idea in education which caused the original legal impulse toward a public system of education to develop in the states of the Northwest Territory into a full-fledged state system of schools.

The Rate Bill System. — As has been indicated in the preceding pages, the nearest approach to a system of universal, free public education in the United States during the first forty years of the nation's history had occurred in the New England states and New York, while the new states on the western frontier were being influenced in that direction by the federal grants of land for education which had to be cared for by public officials. The main difference between the early system in these states and the later full development of the principle of free public education lay in the fact that the public provision did not cover the entire cost of schooling, — indeed, in some cases it left practically untouched the problem of school support. The law provided that schools should be, or in some cases might be, maintained under public auspices, but the cost of instruction continued to be in part or in



County of Livinston ſs

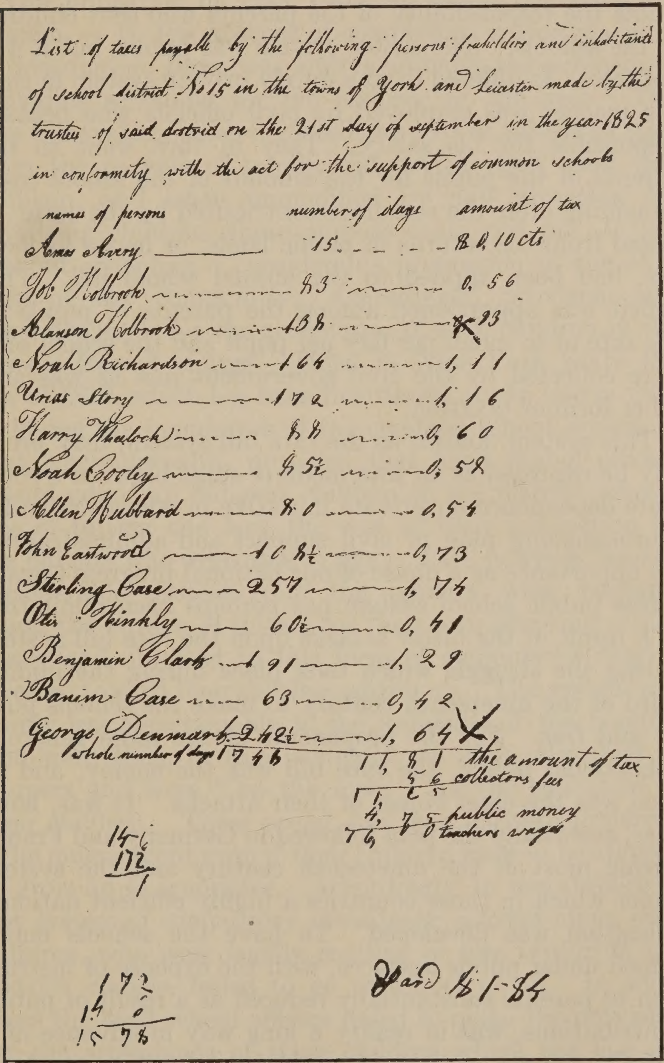
To the collector of school district No 15 in the towns of York and Leicester in the County aforesaid greeting

In the name of the people of the state of New York you are hereby commanded and required to collect from each of the inhabitants of said district in the annexed tax list named the sum of money set opposite to his name in said list and within thirty days after receiving this warrant to pay the amount thereof collected by you (retaining your fees for collection) into the hands of the trustees of said district or some on one of them and take his of their recept thereof and if any of the said inhabitants shall refuse or neglect to pay said sum after lawful demand thereof you are hereby further commanded to levy the same by distress and the sale of the goods and chattels of such delinquents together with the costs and charges of such distress and sale according to law

Given under our hands and seals this 21st day of september in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty five

Job T Holbrook }
Noah Cooley } Trustees

A New York State Rate Bill of



List of taxes payable by the following persons freeholders and inhabitants of school district No 15 in the towns of York and Leicester made by the trustees of said district on the 21st day of september in the year 1825 in conformity with the act for the support of common schools

names of persons	number of days	amount of tax
Amos Avery	15	$0,10 cts
Job Holbrook	83	0,56
Alanson Holbrook	138	X93
Noah Richardson	164	1,11
Urias Story	172	1,16
Harry Whelock	88	0,60
Noah Cooley	85½	0,58
Allen Hubbard	80	0,54
John Eastwood	108½	0,73
Sterling Case	257	1,74
Otis Hinkly	60½	0,41
Benjamin Clark	191	1,29
Banim Case	63	0,42
George Denmark	242½	1,64 ✓
whole number of days	1746	11,81 the amount of tax

56 collectors fees
11,25
4,75 public money
16,00 teachers wages

146
172
1

Paid $1-84

172
1.4 0
15 78

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

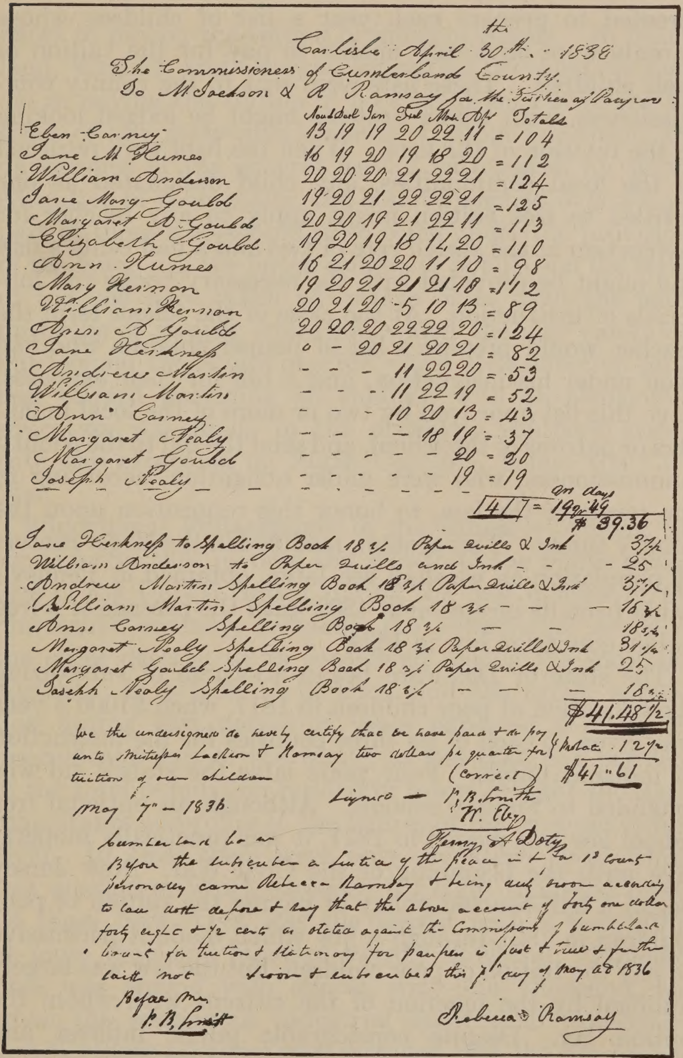
whole the responsibility of the parents who sent children to the schools. The school system was public, but it was not free. It differed from a purely private system in that the teacher was employed by civil officials who became responsible for his salary. They in turn went to the parents of the pupils for the amount of the school costs remaining after the resources contributed by the state, or raised from the returns in public lands, or levied as local tax, had been applied to the annual school bill. This deficit was apportioned among the parents of pupils at the rate of so much per day per pupil and the school bills were collected by the civil government just as was any other form of taxation.

This system, known as the rate bill system, may properly be regarded as an intermediate stage between a complete dependence on private initiative in education and a thoroughgoing plan of civil support and administration. Its importance as a phase of our national progress toward a free public school system has perhaps been minimized as a result of the bitter attacks upon the rate bill system during the struggle which took place during the middle third of the nineteenth century to make the schools public and free. For the proponents of the more generous educational policy, the rate bill was the enemy, and as such was the chief object of their attacks. It was, however, essentially the plan followed in Germany and France during most of the nineteenth century and the system under which in those countries a highly efficient national education was developed. To have the schools maintained under public auspices, with the expense of instruction to parents substantially reduced as a result of public contributions, was in reality a long way in advance of a strictly private method of supplying education to those who were willing or able to pay for it for their children.

The Education of Poor Children under the Rate Bill System. — In the absence of completely gratuitous public instruction, there was always on hand the problem of providing schooling for the children of the poor. The rate bill system, since it placed the cost of tuition in part upon the parents of pupils, did not in itself meet this problem, and when unmodified by any provision for admitting children whose parents could not pay, it left without schooling a considerable proportion of the children of any community. Accordingly, provision was generally made for the acceptance of such children in the schools free of charge. Thus, in New York State the law of 1812, which has been mentioned above (see p. 288) as laying the foundation of the common school system in that commonwealth, provided that local school officers should admit all indigent children to the district schools free of tuition and levy the cost of their instruction on the parents who were able to pay. This, however, caused considerable protest from the parents who, perhaps, found the burden of tuition for their own offspring rather heavy and objected to this form of compulsory charity directed toward their shiftless neighbors. The system was hardly less objectionable to the recipients of the bounty, who were thus, in this particular at least, classified as paupers and were "on the town" for the education of their children. These proud, but poor, citizens preferred to be independent even if their children were to be allowed to grow up in ignorance. Accordingly, in the absence of any system of compulsory attendance, a great many poor children, who were legally entitled to free tuition in the district schools, failed to go to school at all. In some cases the local school officers failed to make the provision for the attendance of these children which the law enjoined. In other cases the educational opportunity provided by law was spurned by those for whose advantage it was intended. This failure of the rate bill system to meet the problem connected with the education of indigent children was one of the important reasons why forward-looking citizens came to desire its abolition and the establishment of the public schools on a basis of free tuition for all.

State Systems of Pauper Education. — If the education of poor children was a difficult problem and one not successfully met under the rate bill system, we may expect that the problem was even more acute in such states as had not progressed to the point of having public, if not free, schools. All other states than those employing rate bills during the first third of the nineteenth century continued to follow the colonial and English precedent of making the education of children the private concern of parents. Under such circumstances the education of the poor was neglected unless private philanthropy stepped in to supply the lack or unless special provision was made under public auspices for paying the tuition of indigent children in existing schools. The efforts of private philanthropy were exerted principally in the cities of the time and deserve special notice, which will be given later. Meanwhile the attempts of certain states to make the education of the poor their special concern may be considered.

Conspicuous among all the state plans for pauper education is that of Pennsylvania. Beginning with a law passed in 1802, but which took final form only in 1809, Pennsylvania attempted to make the education of poor children a public concern and a public charge, while allowing all parents who were able to pay for the schooling of their children to continue doing so. Under the terms of the law of 1809, the township assessors were



Carlisle April 30th. 1836

The Commissioners of Cumberland County

To M Jackson & R Ramsay for the Tuition of Paupers:

	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	Totals
Eben Carney	13	19	19	20	22	11	= 104
Jane M. Humes	16	19	20	19	18	20	= 112
William Anderson	20	20	20	21	22	21	= 124
Jane Mary Gould	19	20	21	22	22	21	= 125
Margaret A. Gould	20	20	19	21	22	11	= 113
Elizabeth Gould	19	20	19	18	14	20	= 110
Ann Humes	16	21	20	20	11	10	= 98
Mary Kernan	19	20	21	21	21	18	= 112
William Kernan	20	21	20	5	10	13	= 89
Ann A Gould	20	20	20	22	22	20	= 124
Jane Herkness	0	-	20	21	20	21	= 82
Andrew Martin	-	-	-	11	22	20	= 53
William Martin	-	-	-	11	22	19	= 52
Ann Carney	-	-	-	10	20	13	= 43
Margaret Nealy	-	-	-	-	18	19	= 37
Margaret Gould	-	-	-	-	-	20	= 20
Joseph Nealy	-	-	-	-	-	19	= 19

qr days

1417 = 19 qr 49

$ 39.36

Jane Herkness to Spelling Book 18¾ Paper Quills & Ink	37½
William Anderson to Paper Quills and Ink - -	25
Andrew Martin Spelling Book 18¾ Paper Quills & Ink	37½
William Martin Spelling Book 18¾ - -	18¾
Ann Carney Spelling Book 18¾ - -	18¾
Margaret Nealy Spelling Book 18¾ Paper Quills & Ink	31¼
Margaret Gould Spelling Book 18¾ Paper Quills & Ink	25
Joseph Nealy Spelling Book 18¾ - -	18¾
	$41.48½
Postage	.12½
(Correct)	$41.61

We the undersigned do hereby certify that we have paid & do pay unto Mistress Jackson & Ramsay two dollars per quarter for tuition of our children

May 7th — 1836

Signed — P. B. Smith
W. Eby
Henry A Doty

Cumberland Co ss

Before the subscriber a Justice of the peace in & for sd County personally came Rebecca Ramsay & being duly sworn according to law doth depose & say that the above account of forty one dollars forty eight & ½ cents as stated against the Commissioners of Cumberland County for tuition & stationary for paupers is just & true & further saith not. Sworn & subscribed this 7th day of May AD 1836

Before me
P. B. Smith

Rebecca Ramsay

An Account Rendered by a Teacher of Pauper Children in Carlisle, Pennsylvania (1836) directed to prepare each year a list of children whose parents were obviously unable to pay for the tuition of their children. These lists were sent to the county commissioners, with whom protests might be lodged looking to the revision of the lists. When the lists were returned to the local communities, any child designated as one entitled to free tuition might apply to any teacher for instruction at the stated rate of two and a half cents a day and might be provided with the necessary books and materials of instruction. At the close of the school term the teacher would prepare a list of pauper children who had been under his instruction, and a bill for their expenses, have this list approved by two or more of the local managers or patrons of the school, and send the bill to the county commissioners, who were under obligation, according to the terms of the law, to honor this requisition upon the county funds. This system, modified in the larger centers of population as we shall see later, obtained in Pennsylvania from its inception in 1802 until the passage of a free public education law in 1834.

The state of Delaware began a system of subsidizing the education of poor children in 1817, when $1000 a year was given to each of its three counties for the instruction of indigent pupils. Four years later the state's aid was extended to Sunday schools. Although an optional free school law was passed in 1821, it was practically inoperative until the beginning of the Civil War. New Jersey began a half-hearted policy of paying the tuition of poor children in 1821 through a law which made it permissive to pay the tuition of poor children, but the law was largely nullified by the inaction of the citizens with whom the option lay. Despite considerable public interest and much agitation for a free common school system, New Jersey continued until 1838 to limit its public educational effort to paying the tuition of indigent pupils. In Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia, legislation provided for some aid in paying the tuition of poor children, but in the absence of any state-wide systems of public education and on account of the general lack of enthusiasm for public education in those states, the bounty reached only a small part of those who should have come under the provisions of the laws. In the larger centers of population the terms of the law were taken advantage of to meet the acute problems of pauper education which the city exhibited, but beyond the efforts of a few cities little effective progress toward providing all children with an elementary education was made in the distinctly southern states, with the exception of North Carolina, before the Civil War.

Educational Philanthropy in the Cities. — Among the social forces that favored the growth of the public school idea in the United States, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, certainly the educational needs of the cities deserve to be considered among the most important. It is true, to be sure, that the urban population during that period of years remained a relatively insignificant part of the whole, as less than five per cent of the total population resided in towns of eight thousand inhabitants according to the figures of the censuses before 1830. In 1820 there were only seventeen cities which had reached or which exceeded the eight thousand mark. Of these New York was the largest with a population of more than one hundred twenty thousand. Philadelphia was second with almost sixty-four thousand, but when the contiguous industrial districts of Southwark and Northern Liberties were included with the city proper, they constituted an urban area containing almost one hundred thousand inhabitants. Baltimore had attained a size of almost sixty-three thousand and Boston stood fourth in numbers with over forty-three thousand. Of the seventeen cities listed as having eight thousand population or over in 1820, twelve were in states which at that date had made no state-wide provision for the establishment of public schools.

In the rapidly growing population of the cities, particularly the seaboard cities which were ports of entry for foreign immigration, there were a great many paupers and poor families that either were or adjudged themselves to be unable to pay the cost of schooling for their children. After 1807, when the passage of the Embargo Act greatly stimulated manufacturing in this country, the development of factories in which power was employed made possible the employment of women and older children. Under such circumstances the social development of the American cities tended to follow closely the conditions which have already been described at some length in the case of England. Many small children were left to run the streets, free of any home restraint and subject to the multifarious temptations to mischief and crime which the crowded city areas provided. The educational destitution under such circumstances was not only great in extent but it was obtrusive and inescapable. Public-spirited men and women saw the social menace of the hordes of children growing up without discipline or instruction, and, as was the case in England contemporaneously, they undertook to provide by means of philanthropy the schools which were lacking. In the states where there was no mandate of law to provide schools, the cities led the way not only in the setting up of free schools for the poor by means of philanthropic school societies, but later in the agitation for free schools for all.

American educational philanthropy followed closely the English precedents. Hardly had Robert Raikes in Gloucester, England (see p. 249), opened his first Sunday school before similar institutions were in operation in the United States. The Sunday school for secular instruction did not, however, meet with much success in this country, and the materials of instruction in these schools soon became exclusively religious. The Sunday school, as an adjunct of church work, in which children are given religious instruction for an hour or so a day, was widely developed early in the nineteenth century and has always continued to be an important aspect of church administration.

Many city churches made provision for the education of poor children in schools maintained under their auspices. There were also, in a number of cities, school societies established in aid of indigent children which united generous persons of all creeds. Thus in the city of Baltimore at least six societies devoted to the education of poor children had been chartered by 1817. In Philadelphia, the Society for the Free Instruction of Female Children, the Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools, and the Philadelphia Association of Friends for the Instruction of Poor Children were all active during the first decade of the nineteenth century. In New York the Manumission Society had in operation the African Free School for Negro Children, which was opened in 1787, and the Association of Women Friends for the Relief of the Poor established a school for girls in 1801. The greatest effort which New York put forth in the way of education of the poor occurred, however, in the founding of the Free School Society in 1805 by a large group of representative citizens with De Witt Clinton as president. This society stated as its aim the "education of such poor children as do not belong to, or are not provided for, by any religious society; and who, therefore, do not partake of the advantages arising from the different charity schools established by the various religious societies in this city."

An important fact in connection with the organization of the Free School Society in New York was its adoption of the monitorial system of Joseph Lancaster as the mode of instruction to be followed. The possibility which this plan offered of giving elementary instruction to large numbers of children at low cost commended it not only to the educational philanthropists of New York, but of every other city undertaking the same task with inadequate means. It has already been seen that in England and France the problem of opening the schools to poor children was for a considerable period solved by means of the monitorial system of instruction (see Chapter XIV). It remains to be recorded that the same system was widely employed during the first third of the nineteenth century in the cities of the United States which were dependent upon charitable subscriptions for the funds necessary to carry on a work which had not yet been enjoined upon local communities by the state. In New York, Philadelphia, Lancaster, Baltimore, Charleston, Providence, and in many other cities, the monitorial system was followed as the first feasible plan of providing common schooling for the children of the poor. For the reason that it made possible with small means the extension of educational opportunity to all, it must be regarded as one of the important agencies which prepared the popular mind for the notion that the universal provision of schools at public expense was not only desirable but possible.

How Philanthropic Effort Passed over into Public Provision of Schools. — The mode of operation of the monitorial system and the quality of its educational outcomes have already been discussed at considerable length in a former connection. Accordingly those aspects of the system do not need to be recalled here. It is important, however, to emphasize the way in which the philanthropic effort, utilizing the monitorial method of instruction, passed over into a public system of education in many cities. As a conspicuous example of this development the Free School Society of the City of New York exhibits a striking history.

Originally founded by a group of public-spirited citizens to supply free education for poor children who were not being given educational opportunities through the efforts of existing religious agencies, the Free School Society almost immediately took on something of the character of a public institution. The official connection of the city with the Society was close in that the mayor and council were made *ex officio* members of the corporation of the Society. Within two years of its organization, it received a gift of $4000 toward building a school and an annual appropriation of $1000 from the state legislature. At the same time the Corporation of the City of New York appropriated a building to the uses of the Society and made an appropriation of $500 to put the building into a suitable condition for school purposes. The state legislature extended its bounty with an appropriation in 1811 of $4000 for building purposes and an increase of $500 in the annual subsidy. In 1813 the legislature made provision that the share of the state school moneys accruing to the City of New York should be distributed to the Free School Society and a number of other charity schools. This distribution was to be looked after by a board of five commissioners appointed by the mayor and council. In 1824, following a controversy which had arisen over the application of state moneys by the Bethel Baptist Church in connection with its charity school, the control of the city over the distribution of the state school money was made more complete, but the practical result was to make the Free School Society the recognized agency of public instruction in New York City. When the name of the Society was changed in 1826 to the Public School Society, it enlarged its educational purposes to the effort to provide education not only for the indigent children of the metropolis, but for all pupils, including those whose parents were able to pay tuition. The attempt to maintain a dual system of charity and pay schools was unsuccessful, with the result that in 1832 all fees were abandoned. At the same time the Society transferred its title to all school properties to the city corporation and became in effect the operating agent for the city. In 1829 a tax of one-eightieth of one per cent for the support of education, which went largely into the budget of the Public School Society, was laid on the property of New York City and in 1831 this tax was increased to three-eightieths of one per cent.

Progressively after 1826 there developed a controversy over the favored position of the Public School Society. A number of religious associations desired to share in the public funds for the support of their own educational activities. The request of these denominational bodies was denied, but their protests weakened the position of the Public School Society. The policy adopted by the Legislature was clearly against the fostering of denominational schools through public funds, and although the Public School Society protested that it was a non-sectarian body, the opposition to it led to a change of public policy. In 1842 a parallel system of public schools known as ward schools and under the direct administration of civil authorities was established in addition to the schools of the Society. For eleven years thereafter the two systems existed side by side, but in 1853 the Public School Society turned over the administration of public education in New York City to the civil officials in charge of public education.

The monitorial system of instruction had the enthusiastic support in New York State of Governor De Witt Clinton and of Gideon Hawley, the first state superintendent of common schools, which doubtless accounts in some measure for the extensive adoption of the system in the cities and towns of New York during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. Under special acts of the Legislature, Albany, Poughkeepsie, Schenectady, Catskill, Hudson, Utica, Troy, Ithaca, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Rochester, and still other towns developed local systems on the monitorial plan and received public funds on condition that they take care of the education of indigent children. In the course of time this system was found to be relatively expensive and inefficient, with the result that one by one the cities of the states passed over to a city-wide organization of free education under public auspices. Dr. Walter J. Gifford describes this movement toward a universal free system as beginning with the city of Buffalo in 1837 and as having progressed so far by 1845 that from one-fifth to one-fourth of the children of the entire state were enjoying free public schooling.[1]

A further excellent illustration of the part played by educational philanthropy in the development of free public schools is to be seen in the history of the Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of

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[1] See W. J. Gifford, *Historical Development of the New York State High School System*, pp. 42 ff.

Charity Schools. This society was founded in 1799 and adopted the monitorial system of instruction about 1810. In 1817 this society published an address to the public, prefatory to a Lancasterian Manual, in which was strongly advocated a system " of public schools for the education of all children, the offspring of the rich and poor." Its members were active in agitation which preceded the passage by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1818 of a law creating Philadelphia the first school district of Pennsylvania. The bill as sponsored by its advocates contemplated the erection of a public school system open to all children free of tuition, but the act as passed by the Legislature limited the operation of the act to indigent children. The result of the act was that after 1818 a public system of education on the monitorial plan, but limited to the education of pauper children, was in operation in the city of Philadelphia.

Just as was the case with the cities and towns of New York State and with Philadelphia, many other centers of population made greater progress toward free public education than the states at large in which they were located. Providence took advantage of a law passed in Rhode Island in 1800 to establish a system of town schools, and, although the law was repealed in 1803, Providence continued to maintain its public schools while there was no general law creating schools in the state until 1828. In the same way the city of Baltimore organized a system of public schools on the basis of a permissive state law in 1826. The effectiveness of this law depended upon favorable local action, and as a result of general lethargy outside of the city, the law, except in Baltimore, failed of effect and Maryland remained without a system of public education until after the close of the Civil War. Wilmington, Delaware; Charleston, South Carolina; New Orleans, Louisiana; and Cincinnati, Ohio, were alike in advance of the state-wide movements for public systems of education in their respective states, while the legislative record of the first half of the nineteenth century exhibits a great many special enactments which gave individual towns and cities the legal right to advance beyond the point to which the states at large would go.

The Era of the School District. — From the beginning of the new federal union of states until the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, educational policy and progress were determined almost exclusively by the sovereign people organized in school districts. And the school district is the smallest possible unit of educational administration. Of state control of education, outside of the bare legislative mandate that schools of a sort should be provided by the civil administration, there was practically none. New York State, with its Board of Regents for the control of secondary and higher education and with its state superintendent of common schools, constitutes the most noteworthy exception. Michigan during that time was also groping toward a state system of administration, while Georgia started out bravely enough to have an administrative system in general like that of New York, but failed to make much of anything out if it. With the exceptions noted, of which during the period in question that of New York was the only one of importance, there was no system of state educational administration which could influence the local authorities in the direction of better schools.

In the matter of state aid for local schools, the action of the states was more impressive. New York had begun in 1795 the annual distribution of $100,000 to the towns of the state for the aid of schools, but discontinued this subsidy at the end of five years. After 1812 it began the distribution of the interest on the state school fund. Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, and Louisiana made direct contributions to local educational effort either in the form of land grants or donations of money. Before 1830 practically all of the older states had at least made the beginnings of a state school fund, the interest from which was to serve as an aid to local educational effort. However, outside of the conspicuously large fund of Connecticut, which was mentioned above (see p. 287), and the noteworthy contributions of New York State, these funds made little contribution to public education during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The accumulation of school funds represented a promise for the future, but the schools of the period under discussion owed almost as little to the state for support as they owed for guidance and stimulation to better practices. Such public schools as existed were maintained upon the resources and according to the standards of the school district.

Origin and Spread of the District System. — If the principle of public provision of schools originated in Massachusetts and thence spread out over New England, into New York State, and out into the Northwest Territory, it is no less true that the district system of school administration had the same origin and spread in the same sequence. Already we have had occasion to remark the process (see p. 278 f.) by which the original unit of school administration in Massachusetts, the town, was broken up into smaller areas within which it was convenient for children to walk to a centrally located school.. In 1789 this tendency, which had informally progressed, was given legal sanction by the Massachusetts legislature, and in 1800 a law gave the inhabitants of the school districts the right to hold district school meetings to determine upon sites for school buildings and to tax themselves for all school purposes. The extreme step in the evolution of the district system of Massachusetts occurred when the law of 1827 provided for the election of a prudential committee of one for each district to have responsibility for the care of the school property and the power to select and appoint the teacher for his district.

Substantially the same informal developments, followed by legal enactments of the same purport, occurred in the other New England states either during the colonial period or during their early existence as states. New York State, in its first common school legislation in 1795, at the same time created town committees to supervise the schools and caused the towns to be subdivided into school districts. Ohio, by means of the same law that provided township officials to look after the school lands, divided the townships into school districts and ordered the districts' share of the returns from the school land to be paid directly to them. Indiana and Illinois, and the new western states generally, adopted the same plan of local school administration.

The district system was suitable to the social conditions under which it originated and developed. In a sparsely settled region where there were considerable areas without any population whatever, it was convenient to allow small, and perhaps isolated, groups of citizens to organize for the provision of schools, without reference to a comprehensive or logically complete system of school administration. Under the pioneer conditions of travel it was also necessary that the school should be within walking distance of the pupils, which further limited the extent of the practicable administrative unit.

The district school was, moreover, adequate to the educational purpose contemplated, which was teaching to read, write, and cipher — to give the pupils command of the instruments of literacy and quantitative calculation to the extent required for a life that made small demands upon either the literary arts or arithmetic.

With the development of the district system, the original given quantities of the problem of school administration in the United States are in hand. The sovereignty of the state in matters educational was firmly established. The legislatures, representative of the people, could demand the maintenance of schools and create officials to have responsibility for the schools thus created. The principle was firmly established by court decisions and unprotested practice that the ultimate source of authority regarding education lay in the will of the citizens of the states as represented in the governments which they had set up.

A second quantity, equally important with the first, was the tremendous range of independent action allowed the local managers of schools. If the state had set by law an easy minimum length of school term, the school trustees were privileged to extend the session if they saw fit. They were the judges of the teacher's competence and uncontrolled in his selection. They erected schoolhouses of the sort they thought suitable and maintained them as they saw fit. The state made only the most general representations regarding the subject-matter of instruction, in some cases simply designating the subjects to be taught. What the children studied was worked out in a parallelogram of forces determined by the available books, the preference and ability of the teacher, and the desires of the community. There were no state inspectors to report the delinquencies of local school officers, and there was no effective intermediate administrative organization to bring some measure of unity or introduce higher standards into the management of the schools.

The local school officials, thus unhampered by any higher administrative authority, were, however, closely controlled in their acts and policies by the citizens from whom they held power. The school trustees were elected by the people directly, without any supervision or veto from higher up in the governmental system. School policies were determined in the district meetings attended by the patrons of the school. Most of the important decisions, such as the erection and repair of buildings, the salary to be paid the teacher, or the length of the school term, were made directly in the school meeting by the householders and parents of the neighborhood. For this reason, the ultimate source of school policy lay in the people rather than in the school officers. The common school in the United States was in a new sense the people's school. It was not for *Das Volk*, but of and by the people. It was not an institution designed to fit the common people for the rôle in which the ruling classes cast them, but one controlled by themselves and in their own interests. It was responsive to their will and to their needs. Poor and inefficient as it was for many years after its origin, it was theirs, and theirs it has always remained.

The District School. — As an institution the district school differed little in the first forty or fifty years after the union of the states from what it had been during the Colonial period in New England. It had followed the spread of population into the more remote parts of that section of the United States, into New York, and into the new West beyond the Ohio River. It was a one-teacher school, maintained in a rude building, consistent with the resources and standards of the communities which provided it. The number of pupils varied from a mere handful to a hundred and more and their ages from the beginners who were learning their A–B–C's to the grown boys and girls who attended a short while during the winter season to brighten up their rusty literary accomplishments or to cipher their way once more through the arithmetic. The method of instruction for the most part was individual. Each pupil brought with him to school the books which were available at home or which the teacher prompted his parents to purchase for him. The pupil's quest of learning was a lone quest, assisted by fleeting periods of personal attention from the teacher. The process of learning was largely one of getting assignments "by heart," which phrase seems to imply that mastery of school tasks was more a matter of dogged perseverance and courage than of intellectual appreciation or understanding. The nature of the instruction and the physical conditions of the schoolroom invited disorder, which seems to have been met, from all the contemporary accounts that have come down to us, with truculent zeal by the teacher, whose main reliance was upon the rod. The supreme test of a teacher's competence lay in his ability to keep order.

The teaching personnel of the district school exhibited great variety. Women were commonly employed for summer sessions when only the smaller children attended, but it was the general rule to employ only men for the sterner business of subduing the grown boys who came to school in the winter when they could be spared from work. Among these men were some who had proved their acceptability through a rough-and-ready system of elimination and survival. They followed teaching as a life-work and would be classified on the assessor's rolls as schoolmasters. There never seems to have been, however, in the United States a body of professional schoolmasters at all adequate to the demands of the rapidly increasing and expanding population, and the deficiency had to be supplied with casual teachers who taught in the intervals of other occupation or as a stopgap in their careers. Many of the common-school teachers of that early day were college students who spent short periods at teaching in order to earn money to defray the expenses of further college work. Many also passed through the easily opened gate of one of the professions after a short time spent as teacher in the common schools. And many in addition were the farm youths, who having learned all that there was to be learned in the district school, tried their hand, for better or for worse, in imitation of the art with which they had become familiar through their experience as pupils. The result of all this was short tenure of teachers in given schools, and a teaching personnel for the most part inexperienced, untrained, and casual.

The absence of an adequately prepared body of teachers inevitably threw the burden of instruction back upon the book. The teacher heard lessons, exhibited his own accomplishments, and kept order, or tried to. The main factor in the learning process was the pupil's mastery of his text. Thus he learned the lessons in his reader and his speller page by page and worked his way from the beginning of his arithmetic to the end, and in the latter his principal interest was in " getting the answer " rather than in understanding the process.

It was to the improvement of such a teacher, such a school, and such instruction that the educational revival of the second quarter of the nineteenth century was directed.

The Increase in Private Educational Effort. — There remains to be considered another important factor in the development of education in the United States during the first forty years of its national existence, namely, the very considerable increase in private schools offering a more advanced curriculum than that of the common schools, and having better teachers and a more select student personnel. In a certain sense these schools do not deserve to be included in this story of the evolution of the common school, because they are more properly to be classified among secondary schools rather than among elementary. The name ordinarily given them was "academy" and the instruction afforded in them ranged from elementary studies, through the accepted college preparatory subjects, and over into those generally associated with the college.

These academies, whether called by that name or not, were usually the result of private enterprise attempting to provide superior educational advantages for the children of a given community, but in a great many cases the efforts of the academy trustees were aided by state contributions of land or money. Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and other states were generous in aiding such enterprises, and in many cases the grant of state aid was connected with the stipulation that a given number of poor students should be received free of tuition in the school receiving aid. Such institutions were chartered by the state, and since in so many cases they received state aid, the whole movement possesses a semi-public character.

If these schools, to be classified in general as private and secondary, seem on first thought to fall outside the scope of this study, there are good reasons, on the other hand, for considering them in this connection. In the first place, in the lower range of the curriculum, they offered instruction that was to be taken up by the common schools during the next few decades. The district school before about 1830 was primarily a school of reading and writing with some attention to arithmetic, but after that time the tendency rapidly gained momentum to include such subjects as English grammar, geography, and United States history, and to expand the scope of the earlier instruction in the three R's. Accordingly what was before about 1830 a select instruction, to be had only by means of private organization and special tuition, tended after that time to be generally offered in the common schools. What happened was that the common school increased the range of its instruction for all to the scope first attained only by the private or semi-private academies.

Another reason for considering the increase of private effort in connection with the development of the elementary school is that in large degree the word "academy" meant a private, or select, school rather than a secondary school. Many parents were unwilling to send their children to the inefficient district schools, where such existed, and took steps to organize schools in which their children might have better instruction and more select companionship. Accordingly, in such states as Massachusetts and Connecticut, where the common schools were in operation, the multifarious founding of academies and select schools represented a falling-away of the interest and support of the leading citizens from the public schools and the diversion of money and concern to a system of private education. Indeed, the great leaders of public education in New England, such as James G. Carter, Horace Mann, and Henry Barnard, recognized in the multiplication of private schools a most dangerous threat against the principle of public education.

The main significance of the academy movement in this study lies in the fact that it reflects a tremendous increase in the demand for education of a grade superior to that offered in the district and common schools. The founding of the academies proceeded steadily after 1800, with a definite acceleration between 1821 and 1840, and with slight decline between 1841 and 1860. In 1800, according to admittedly incomplete tables compiled by Dexter,[1] there were 102 academies in existence, while by 1850 this number had increased to an estimated total of 6085.[2] Of these, 1907 were in the New England states. Gifford[3] has compiled the record of secondary schools incorporated by the Board of Regents and the state legislature in New York State between 1787 and 1853, and found a total of 315. Of these 162 were chartered in the period 1821–1840. Miller[4] found a total of 172 secondary schools under various titles incorporated in Ohio between 1803 and 1850. Other studies indicate that the tendency to incorporate private institutions of a rank above the common school was operative in every state in the Union.

The provision of these superior educational opportunities is significant of a recognized need for more and better schools. The demand was being made everywhere for something better than the common schools, and individuals were willing to pay for the superior facilities offered their children. The next chapter in the history of the American common school will see this vast ground swell of educational need overflowing the limitations of private supply and spreading out into the forms of public educational administration.

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[1] See E. G. Dexter, *A History of Education in the United States*, pp. 94–96.

[2] *American Journal of Education*, I, 368.

[3] See W. J. Gifford, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[4] See E. A. Miller, *The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803 to 1850*, pp. 75–86.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why is it particularly necessary to consider education in the United States until 1830 by taking up various sections or states one at a time?
2. What was there in the educational situation in the United States until about 1830 which represented the continuation of colonial practices and attitudes?
3. What was there in that situation which indicated changes of attitude and represented educational progress?
4. In what respects were New England and New York in the lead during this period in the matter of public education?
5. Explain why the federal grants of land for education represented an influence in favor of a public school system.
6. Can you discover a resemblance between the rate-bill system and the public schools of France, Prussia, and England, in which small fees were charged until late in the eighteenth century?
7. Did the rate-bill system represent an important step toward a universal free, public system of common schools? If parents had to pay fees, in what respect could it be better than a private school system?
8. Why did the cities come to see the necessity of free elementary schools before the rural sections did?
9. What is meant by the district system? When and where did it originate? Why was it adapted to frontier conditions? How extensive has been its development? Does it exist in the United States today? Is the system as useful now as it was in the first half of the nineteenth century?
10. Is the district school a distinctive part of the American tradition? Where have you encountered it in American literature?
11. Was the increase in private schools in New England after 1800 a threat against the public school system? Can you explain why, for a time, New England seemed to be losing its old faith in education?

REFERENCES

The early history of the federal land-grants may be followed in greater detail in E. H. REISNER, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, pp. 338–345. A summary of the educational practices of the various states during the first forty years of the national history is found in E. P. CUBBERLEY, *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 61–81. Chapter IV of the same work is also useful for its presentation of many of the subjects treated in the foregoing chapter of this book.

The general social conditions of the period before 1830 are described by E. W. KNIGHT in *Education in the United States*, Chapter VII, Ginn.

Chapter XVI

THE RISE OF FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES

Before 1825 in the United States there was little hint in the actualities of education of the principles and practices which a half-century later were to be accepted almost as a matter of course. At the former date the policy of public maintenance of common schools had a firm foothold in the New England states and there was a definite drift in that direction among some of the newer states on the western frontier. Even in New England, however, the common schools interest was suffering from the tendency of the well-to-do to provide select private schools for their children and to limit the responsiblity of the civil state in the matter of all extensions of education beyond the rudiments of learning. There was also abroad in the land an active spirit of educational philanthropy, which was trying to extend the benefits of education to the children of the poor, but the insidious social distinctions which the system of pauper or philanthropic education aroused showed that such a plan would never succeed in the task of universal education. In 1825 no pedagogical book had been printed in the United States and there was only one institution for the professional preparation of teachers.

Fifty years later the principle of free, public schools had been universally accepted. The elementary curriculum had been enriched and had extended itself in an unbroken line of educational opportunity into a three- or four-year high school course. State systems of educational administration had experienced pronounced development, with the result that leadership and aid from the larger civil unit were available to local school authorities. Educational associations, state-wide, even nation-wide, in scope, gave evidence of the interest of educators and laymen in the improvement of schools. A professional consciousness had been developed through educational periodicals, educational conventions, the publication of pedagogical works, and the pretty general establishment of normal schools. Why, in so short a time, had so pronounced a change in American education come about, and by what means had the change been accomplished?

The development of the American system is frequently described in terms of a conflict, in which the forces of educational progress were doing battle with the forces of indifference, selfishness, and conservatism. And, indeed, there is a great deal of truth connected with the figure of speech employed. The improvement of education in the United States has depended ultimately upon the education of the voters to believe in public schools, free schools, improved schools, and to cast their ballots for progressive policies and mounting school expenditures. For this reason a great deal of significance is to be attached to the development in the third decade of the nineteenth century of a large number of agencies of publicity and propaganda.

The Rise of Agencies of Educational Propaganda. — The first educational journal, *The Academician*, was published in New York, 1818–1820. In 1826 in Boston, William Russell began editing *The American Journal of Education*, which continued until 1831, when it was taken over by William C. Woodbridge under the name of *The American Annals of Education* and continued until 1839. In that year Horace Mann began the publication of the *Common School Journal*, which remained an active force in the improvement of public education in Massachusetts until 1848. Meanwhile the State of New York had its educational journal in *The Common School Assistant.* Henry Barnard published *The Connecticut Common School Journal* while he was Secretary of the State Board of Commissioners for Common Schools in that state, 1838–1842, and *The Rhode Island School Journal* while he served Rhode Island as State Commissioner of Public Schools, 1845–1849. In 1855 he began his monumental work as editor of *The American Journal of Education.* Leaders of education in other states found the publication of a state journal a most efficacious means of furthering the interests of better schools and followed the example of the New England leaders in establishing such periodicals. Thus was furnished an important agency in spreading the gospel of good schools.

Hardly less important than educational journalism, and sometimes prior to it in point of development in a given state, was the sharply accelerated tendency of the times to form associations for the advancement of public schools. These associations naturally enough grew in some instances out of societies formed for philanthropic ends. Thus the *Free School Society* founded in 1805 in New York City changed its name to the *Public School Society* in 1826 and became one of the earliest influences for universal free education in that city and state. *The Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools* (1801) and *the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Economy* (1817) were both extremely influential in the agitation for a free system of public schools in Pennsylvania. The same service of agitation for better schools was performed in Ohio by the *Western Academic Institute and Board of Education* formed at Cincinnati in 1829, which three years later changed its name to the *Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers.* This society did a great service for education in sending Professor Calvin E. Stowe to Europe to observe the progress of education there and later by inducing the Ohio Legislature to publish a large edition of his *Report on Elementary Education in Europe.* Of the education societies founded at this time, mention should be made of the *American Institute of Instruction* which began its existence in 1830. Until after the organization of the National Education Association in 1856, this New England society had the most extensive representation and exerted the farthest reaching influence of any of the professional school organizations. The list of state and regional societies formed for the purpose of stimulating thought about public education and pressing the claims of the public schools would take us into practically every state in the Union. The services of " the friends of education " in forcing home their generous conception of public educational policy to the voters, through the meetings which they organized and through the publications which they sent into the homes of the land and placed in the hands of legislators and government officials, constituted one of the most effective agencies for bringing into existence the American public school.

The Educational Effects of Improved Transportation and Communication. — If one asks what was the chief novelty in the educational situation in the United States which made the 'thirties of the nineteenth century so conspicuous a period of educational reform and improvement, the answer will have to be sought in gradual, but far-reaching changes in American life which culminated at that time. Prominent among these causes must be placed the improvement of the means of transportation which had begun in the late eighteenth century in the building of turnpikes and had continued with acceleration into the nineteenth. The building of canals and the application of steam to the navigation of rivers had provided new water-routes for the transportation of goods, books, letters, and newspapers. The establishment of new postal routes and favorable rates for the distribution of newspapers by the postal department was met by an increase in the number of newspapers and the lowering of their cost. The penny newspaper, begun in the 'thirties, brought the daily paper out of the class of luxuries and made it available to large circles of new readers. With the development of railroads after 1830, the ease and rapidity of travel and communication greatly increased, and when the telegraph came into general use after 1846, the facility with which a common consciousness could be aroused began to approximate the conditions with which we are familiar today.

The improvement of the means of communication and transportation made possible the agencies which have been named above as doing such effective work in agitation for free, public schools. James G. Carter, who first aroused Massachusetts to a renewed interest in public education, operated through the agency of a public press which carried his messages to the boundaries of the state. The educational journals which began to be published in the 'twenties and the educational news carried in newspapers and periodicals of general interest operated as sounding boards to increase the repercussion of educational ideas and of pleas for the betterment of school conditions.

The Educational Significance of the Increase of Urban Population. — The growth of cities during the period from 1830 to the outbreak of the Civil War was also a profound influence operating in favor of a liberal policy of education. At that earlier date the proportion of people living in cities of over eight thousand population was 6.7 per cent of the whole, while in 1860 the census figures showed an increase of urban population to 16.1 per cent, and this in spite of the fact that the West was being opened up largely to rural population. The population of New York City changed from over two hundred thousand in 1830 to more than three hundred thousand in 1840, to more than five hundred thousand in 1850, and to more than eight hundred thousand in 1860. In 1830 in the entire country there were only forty cities with more than seven thousand inhabitants, while in 1860 the fortieth city in rank had increased in size to more than twenty-two thousand. At that time there were in the United States sixty-two places that deserved urban classification on the basis of the limit then followed, namely, a population of eight thousand.

The problems of education were more acute in the cities than in the open country, or at least they caused more concern. It was in the cities that we have seen the efforts of philanthropy to cope with educational destitution in the period closing at about 1830, and it is to the cities that we may look for the earliest and most conspicuous educational developments during the thirty years immediately preceding the Civil War. It was in the cities that schools first became free, even when the states at large refused to sponsor state-wide systems of free public schools. It was in the cities that schools first began to be graded according to the age and attainment of children. It was there also that professional supervision began. It is not too much to say that public education in the larger towns and cities of the United States showed great improvement before 1860, while the district school of the rural regions remained not much unlike its prototype of the early part of the century.

The educational problems of the cities were increased and complicated during this period by reason of the stupendous increase in foreign immigration which occurred at the same time and left in them large numbers of poor and unassimilated foreigners. In the fourth decade, with more than a half-million immigrants, of whom almost a third were from Ireland, the number was four times that of the third decade, while in the period 1840–1849 the figures trebled, being almost one and a half millions, and in the period 1850–1859 they increased to two and three-quarter millions. The large increase in city population caused by immigration not only was a stimulus of developments in the direction of free schools, but, as we shall see later, on account of new religious distributions which were entailed, it was an effective agency in the secularization of the public school system.

The Influence of Political Democracy on Education. — In looking for the causes of the heightened public interest in education during and after the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, one may not overlook the vast import of the democratization of American life which had meanwhile been accomplished. As has been seen in an earlier chapter (see Chapter XV) the right to vote had become universal before the first election of Andrew Jackson as president in 1828. This uprising of the common people, determined to put their man in the White House, was but the first definite and expressive manifestation of a power that they had for some time possessed.

There can be no question but that the fact of universal manhood suffrage made inevitable a heightened concern over public education. The evils of an ignorant and unenlightened electorate were obvious and made inescapable argument in favor of universal education. The chief figures in the campaign for free public schools were educated persons, leaders in community activities, who saw clearly the imperative need of widely diffused, even universal, opportunities of education in a country where all had equal influence at the polls. It should be mentioned, however, that in the earliest stages of agitation for free public schools, the organized workingmen of the cities cast their influence solidly for that cause.

The Process of Educational Improvement. — So far in our discussion of the educational developments of the second period of thirty years of the nineteenth century, we have considered the agencies that were at work and the underlying social conditions which favored the success of their efforts at improvement. A word remains to be said about the process whereby the significant changes of thirty years were accomplished.

The term "Common School Revival" is frequently used to name the collective improvement in education during the period in question. The term is useful in describing a part of what took place in a part of New England, but even in that connection there is danger of implying a factor of suddenness which the real occurrences do not warrant. Considering all the educational events of the period together, the net impression one receives must be one of very gradual, experimental progress, accomplished here and there, in a spirit of compromise with conservatism. Educational reform in the United States did not spring full-armed out of the brain of any great leader or out of the benevolent intentions of any autocratic government. It depended upon the change of long-established social attitudes in individuals who possessed ultimate power over legislation and who were intrenched in a social system which gave them a great deal of autonomy in local concerns, among which education was to be listed. The process by which educational improvement was accomplished was one of education of the people to desire better school conditions, to be willing to achieve such conditions for themselves, and to consent to putting some pressure, through legislation, on such of their fellow citizens as were somewhat slower in becoming educated.

At times the friends of education were able to secure the passage of a law that represented marked progress, but if the law was too far in advance of popular feeling, the next meeting of the legislature would see its repeal or modification. Under such circumstances the most effective agency of educational improvment was permissive legislation, which gave the more progressive communities the legal right to bring about desired changes, while the remainder of the state might be allowed to continue in old ways. Then, after a reasonable period in which the power of good example had had the opportunity of doing its work, and in which a safe majority of all the communities in the state had accepted the conditions of the permissive law, it could be made mandatory in its provisions. With a solid majority in its favor, pressure could safely be brought upon the recalcitrant communities to come up to the goal originally aimed at.

The principle of gradual change described above can be illustrated in the case of almost every state in the Union which during the thirty years preceding the Civil War made any conspicuous progress in the direction of free public education. Even Massachusetts, where James G. Carter and Horace Mann in a preëminent way were responsible for a quickening of the stagnant waters of education, exhibits the back and forth movement, the compromises, the piece-meal gains and the subsequent consolidation of a large front, which were necessitated by the nature of American social and political life.

The Example of Gradual Evolution in the State of New York. — For an example of the evolution of a school system in the direction of complete gratuity of instruction, New York has an interesting story. Beginning in 1784 and 1787 with the establishment of a state board of control for higher and secondary education, the principle of civil control over that branch of public policy was clearly enunciated. In 1795 the beginnings of a system of common schools were stimulated through five annual appropriations of $100,000, but at the end of that time the concern of the state over the common schools was allowed to lapse until 1812. At that date a policy of state aid to districts for maintaining common schools was begun; the office of State Superintendent of Common Schools was created and intermediate administrative officials were provided; and the towns were compelled to levy an amount of tax equal to the amount of aid received from the state. This law contemplated the use of rate bills to secure the difference in cost of the schools remaining over and above the amount provided by the state grant and the town tax, but it laid upon the town authorities the obligations to provide free schooling for all indigent children.

Meanwhile the educational need of New York City had led to the development of various philanthropic agencies for the schooling of poor children. The example of New York City was followed by other towns in the state, which were given permission by the Legislature through special laws to organize public systems of education to provide for the free education of the poor by means of the Lancasterian system of instruction. In the 'thirties and 'forties the cities and towns of New York had discovered the relative expensiveness and inefficiency of this dual system of free schools for the poor and pay schools for those able to contribute the cost of tuition, so one by one they gained permission from the legislature to establish out and out systems of free public schools to which all children might go. Buffalo in 1838 led the way in this direction. It was followed by Hudson and Rochester in 1841, by New York in 1842, by Brooklyn in 1843, and so on. Dr. Gifford[1] says that before 1845 cities and larger villages had free schools to such extent that from one-fifth to one-fourth of the people were enjoying such privileges in the state as a whole. And not only had the schools in the cities become so generally free before any state-wide legislation to that effect had occurred, but by a process of grading the pupils it had become customary to offer in the public schools a wide range of subjects which were properly to be regarded as of secondary character.

In 1838 the state common school fund in New York was greatly increased, with a corresponding enlargement of the aid which the state was able to give to local communities. In 1841 a system of county or deputy superintendents was established, and in the same year the state department of education insured close contact with local communities through adopting the *District School Journal* as its official organ. The annual conventions of the county superintendents were important for the opportunity they gave of arousing interest in educational reform. A state normal school for the preparation of elementary school teachers was established at Albany in 1844. While the temporary abolishment of the office of county superintendent in 1847 might seem to indicate some lessening of educational zeal in the state, the year 1849 saw the culmination of a great movement in favor of free education in the action of the legislature. In that year was passed an " Act establishing free schools throughout the state." The adoption of the law was made contingent, however, upon its ratification by the people at the ensuing November election. At that time the law was approved by a vote of 249,872 in its favor and 91,951 against, — a majority of 157,921. There developed, however, a great deal of dissatisfaction in connection with the operation of the law and petitions for its repeal came in numbers from all parts of the estate, particularly from the rural districts. As a result the legislature refused to accept the mandate of the referendum and called for a renewed expression of opinion on the law at a second referendum to be held in 1850.

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[1] W. J. Gifford, *op. cit.*, p. 46. For tables illustrative of changes in the city school practices see pp. 48–49 of the same study.

While the legislature was debating the issue of free schools, the friends of free schools called a convention to be held at Syracuse on July 10, 1850. At this meeting the following resolutions, quoted herein at length because they represent so well the attitudes and reasoning of free school advocates everywhere during this era, were unanimously adopted:

> 1. That the proposition before the convention and the State was, not that our present Common School law, in all its provisions and details, is perfect; but that this law should be maintained in so far as it provides that our Common Schools shall be free to all the children of the State.
> 2. That the principle upheld by this convention — the principle which should be fixed and established in the political economy of this State — is that the property of the State should educate the children of the State, or in the words of the first

section of the act of 1849, "Common Schools, in the several school districts of this State, shall be free to all persons residing in the district over five and under twenty-five years of age."

3. That the true welfare of a State is to be attained, not wholly by highways and canals, by asylums and penitentiaries, by a police and standing army, but by the development of the physical, intellectual, and moral energies of the people; therefore, if the former should be sustained at the public expense, much more should the thorough education of the whole people be amply provided for from the same source.
4. That the emphatic vote of the people, at the last election, in favor of the act establishing Free Schools throughout the State, was clearly indicative of the deliberate sanction and approval of the principle which dictated the enactment of that law; and that no defect in the subordinate details of the provision thus made for the universal education of the children of the State can warrant or justify the abandonment of that principle, or the total repeal of the law.
5. That we pledge ourselves to use every proper means of influence in our power, individually and collectively, to procure the renewed sanction of the people to the great Principle of Free Schools, as the only sure and effectual palladium of their freedom, happiness, and prosperity — as the best safeguard of their rights, and the surest preservative of those noble institutions handed down to us by the fathers and framers of our Republic.
6. That we are opposed to the restoration of the old school law, because its operation had become contrary to the principles of democratic government. While it professed to be liberal, it gave the avaricious parent an excuse for keeping his children from the schools; while it should have furnished intellectual aliment free to all the children of the State, it virtually drove thousands and tens of thousands from the school-houses, by wounding their pride, and branding them as paupers, or refusing them the exemption to which, under its provisions, they were entitled. While it should have discriminated between the right of the child and that of the parent or guardian to public beneficence, it often treated unkindly and blasted the hopes of the former, on account of the improvidence or misfortune

of the latter; and while it was far better than no system of public education, it did not supply the wants of the rising generation who were calling for " light, and more light still."

7. That we will most cordially unite in the recommendation to the Legislature of such an amendment of the act of 1849, establishing Free Schools, as shall make the expense of supporting such schools, over and above the revenue of the Common School fund, a charge upon the real and personal property in the State, county, or town, equitably assessed according to a just and fair valuation of such property, and such other modifications of the act as they in their wisdom shall see to be best and deem expedient and proper.

The result of the referendum showed a sharply reduced majority in favor of the free school law of 1849, owing to the almost solid opposition of the rural counties of the state. Under the circumstances, the Legislature passed an act in 1851 entitled " An act to establish free schools throughout the state " which provided for a large state tax for the support of common schools, for a continuation of the subsidy from the state fund, for town taxes for schools, *but retained the rate bill as a means of meeting any deficit which remained* after all these resources had been set against the cost of the common schools in any town.

Two years after the passage of the Free Schools Act which retained the rate bill, the legislature gave progressive communities an easy opportunity of providing themselves not only with free schools, but with graded instruction including higher branches, through the enactment of the Union Free School Act, which enabled a district or a number of districts combined to organize as a union free school district with the special powers named.

When the state legislature of New York finally made the common schools entirely free in 1867, it put to an end the rate-bill system after it had all but disappeared in any but the rural districts of the state, and even there the amount raised by the " tax on children " had become less than the amount raised by taxation on property. In 1866, the year before the final free school act was passed, the total amount expended for education in the state was $5,735,460.24, of which $3,501,070.20 was raised by taxation. The amount raised by the rate bills was $655,158.78, or less than 12 per cent of the entire cost of common school education.[1]

So much in illustration of the mode of educational progress in the State of New York.

The Evolution toward Free Common Schools in Pennsylvania. — The history of the free-school movement in Pennsylvania illustrates the same gradual progress toward a goal which at the outset was impossible of universal attainment, as has been seen in the case of New York, but with sufficient differences in the application of the permissive principle to make its example significant. The effort to give free education to all poor children, which was that state's first step in the direction of universal free education, continued to be its policy until 1834. Meanwhile, in 1818, the city and county of Philadelphia had been made a school district with the power of organizing public schools for its indigent children and later special laws had singled out the counties of Lancaster, Dauphin, Cumberland, and Alleghany, which contained some of the principal towns of the state, and given them like privileges.

The reason why such exceptions had been asked and granted was that the law of 1809 was relatively expensive and extremely inefficient in its operation. The mandate of the state constitution calling for the free education of poor children was not being met by the existing system, and the friends of education were stimulated to continued efforts to secure a public system of schools as the only effective means of securing the education of the poor. Successive state governors had laid before the legislature their pleas for more adequate school provisions, but nothing substantial had been accomplished. In 1827 the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Schools was organized in Philadelphia for the definite purpose of conducting a general campaign throughout the state in favor of a public system of elementary schools. The means they adopted were " to open and maintain a correspondence with such zealous, intelligent, and patriotic citizens as may be induced to coöperate with it," and " from time to time communicate to the public, through the medium of pamphlets and newspapers, such information as it may deem expedient." The first report of this Society, published in 1828, laid bare the general inefficiency of existing community schools in the state and the inadequacy of the supply of even poor schools, some communities having no schools at all. As for the law of 1809 the Report attacked the school situation which existed under it as follows:

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[1] See S. S. Randall, *The Common School System of New York*, p. 369.

> The provisions of the Act are incomplete, and frequently inoperative; no compulsory method is provided to ensure either a return of the number of children who are entitled to the bounty of the treasury, or to require their attendance at school, when they are returned by the assessors; hence the negligence of the free scholars, united with that of the executive officers of the counties, has produced results which the legislature could not foresee. In some cases only a few children, two or three in number, have been returned in each family, and the remainder have been illegally and intentionally excluded from receiving any participation in the benefits of this charity, which was intended to be universal. From a parsimonious desire of saving to the county treasury, the cheapest and consequently the most inefficient schools have been usually selected by the commissioners. Even this miserable substitute for education is imparted, in some counties, only during a few months in

> the year. In a few districts only has the system established by law been faithfully pursued, but the result has not equalled the expectations of the legislature, either in regard to the economy or the efficiency of the plan.
>
> The feelings of many of the poorer classes will not permit them to enroll themselves as paupers, in order that their children may receive their education from the charity of the public.
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> The pride of independence scorns to receive even the greatest blessings which man can bestow, when the proffered boon is offered for acceptance in the humiliating form of a public charity. This feeling has prevented, and, whilst human nature remains the same, always will prevent, the success of all similar legislative enactments. The experiment has been tried for twenty years in Pennsylvania; it has been tried in Virginia, in South Carolina, and in other states, and the unvarying result has been a failure, complete, unequivocal, but we venture to hope, not uninstructive.

In a memorial to the Legislature in 1830, the same Society declared that out of at least four hundred thousand children in Pennsylvania between the ages of five and fifteen, there had not been, during the past year, one hundred fifty thousand in all the schools of the state.

The activities of the Society resulted in the holding of many meetings at various places in the state to press the claims of free public schools and many memorials came to the Legislature urging that such a system be provided. Governor George Wolf in his annual messages gave aid to the school cause.

In 1831 the opening wedge of a state school system was inserted in the form of a measure creating a state school fund for the aid of common schools when such might come into existence. In 1834, largely through the efforts of the active and organized supporters of free public schools, a law passed the Legislature, almost without opposition, which constituted every ward, township, and borough in the state a school district, provided for the election of school officers, and gave these officers the powers necessary to initiate and carry on schools. The law expressly made it the prerogative of the voters of each school district to accept or reject the law. The districts accepting were to proceed to the election of school officers and were to receive a substantial subsidy out of the state treasury for establishing the new system. The districts rejecting the provisions of the law were empowered to continue under the law of 1809, but received no state aid. The law made provision for the official interest and participation of the state government in education by designating the Secretary of the Commonwealth as the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

In sharp contrast with the ease with which the act was passed in the Legislature, there immediately broke out a furious contest in the districts of the state over the acceptance of its provisions. Of the 987 districts created by the law, 502, or a few more than half of the total, accepted the system and elected school officers. There were 264 districts that rejected the law out and out, while 221 ignored it by taking no action.[1] When the election of representatives to the ensuing Legislature was held, the school issue was prominent and many senators and representatives were elected with a specific mandate from their constituents to repeal the school law of 1834.

The contest in the legislative session of 1834–1835 was bitter and close. The Senate passed a bill repealing the school law of 1834 and providing for a return to the provisions of the pauper education law of 1809. In a test vote on this bill, thirteen senators who had voted in favor of the act of 1834 reversed themselves. The House, however, stood firm for the new law. In the course of the debates on the issue, Thaddeus Stevens, a young lawyer who had been reared in Vermont, delivered a

[1] See J. P. Wickersham, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, p. 322.

stirring speech which strengthened the morale of the friends of public education and undoubtedly had great influence in saving the system established by the law of 1834.

The original school law was deficient in some of its practical arrangements, but in general it served well as the foundation for a free public school system. Later revisions eliminated some of its doubtful provisions and the compliance of the church-school party was invited through the provision that free schools maintained by religious societies in accepting districts should receive their share of the state school money. Acceptance by a district was also made to seem less irrevocable by the provision that the issue might be presented anew every three years for more mature decision. No less important were the substantial increase made in the state contributions to the expense of public schools in accepting districts and a large appropriation granted for the aid of districts in constructing schoolhouses.

By the end of the year 1836, a total of 742 districts were operating under the new law. The promised bounty of the state was held out to accepting districts and almost every year saw gains for the public system until, in 1847, 1105 out of 1249 school districts were in the fold. In 1848 the law was made to apply universally, but in spite of gradual accessions of districts to the public system, there remained in 1868 twenty-three school districts which maintained no common school. At that time effective means were taken by the state to bring these few rebellious districts into line, and as the fruition of an unexampled policy of persuasion, special inducement, and compromise, the aims of the law of 1834 for a free and public system of schools were everywhere realized in the State of Pennsylvania.

Further Educational Progress in Pennsylvania. — Notwithstanding the success of the public school principle, the friends of education in Pennsylvania realized that the fight for good school conditions was barely begun. The public buildings were for the most part disreputable; the teachers were untrained and inefficient; there was no uniformity of the texts used in the schools; for the most part the schools were ungraded; no adequate system of supervision had been provided, and the guidance of the system by the state was hampered by the lack of a state superintendent whose duties to education were undivided. The public schools created and maintained under the laws were left to the care of the local education officers, who were in all too many cases ignorant of good school practice, penurious in the expenditure of money, and, in some cases, out-and-out unfriendly to the system in which they served.

To meet this situation a state convention of the friends of education was held in Harrisburg in 1850 with representatives from all parts of the commonwealth. Among its members were men who had been influential in bringing about such educational progress as had been achieved, and all were in agreement that much remained to be done. The convention resolved in favor of "the founding of two state normal schools, the organization of teachers' institutes and associations in each county, the creation of a department of education distinct from the office of secretary of the commonwealth, the publication of a *Common School Journal* by the department of education, and the establishment of the office of county superintendent."[1]

Other signs of educational activity were the voluntary organization of local associations of teachers and citizens interested in education and the forming of the state teachers association, which held its first meeting in 1852. Educational journalism came to the aid of the movement in the publication of the *School Journal*, published by the Lancaster County Educational Society, which in 1854 became the official organ of the state education department.

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[1] See J. P. Wickersham, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

The publicity given the activities of these associations prepared the way for distinctive advances in the public system of education in the state. The first important step taken was the passage of a law in 1854 creating the office of county superintendent. This provided a measure of guidance for local school officials and a more adequate means of examining and certificating teachers. In 1857 the beginning of a state system of training for teachers was made in the passage of a normal school law, and in the same year the separate office of state superintendent of public instruction was created.

With these changes, accomplished through the enthusiasm and unwearying effort of the friends of education who utilized for their ends all the possible means of publicity and education and organization, the public system of education in Pennsylvania possessed the elements of strength and the necessary functions of improvement which in the course of years brought about substantial betterment in the schools of the state.

Progress toward Free Schools in Other States. — The constraints of space do not permit further illustration of the very gradual process, extending over at least a full generation in some states and over a much larger period in others, by which the full sweep of the new American system of public education was unfolded. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan have had a history which in many respects parallels the development which has been described at some length in the states of New York and Pennsylvania. In each the turn toward better school conditions was based on the devotion and zeal of individual men and women, who took counsel with others of like mind and put into operation the machinery of publicity, persuasion, and legislative action which brought nearer, step by step, the realization of public education, of free education, and of improved education in face of the indifference and opposition of majorities to be converted to the more liberal viewpoint. The names of James G. Carter and Horace Mann in Massachusetts, of Thomas H. Burrowes and James P. Wickersham in Pennsylvania, of Henry Barnard in Connecticut and Rhode Island, of Calvin E. Stowe and Samuel Lewis in Ohio, of Caleb Mills in Indiana, of Ninian W. Edwards in Illinois, of John D. Pierce and Isaac E. Crary in Michigan, and of Archibald D. Murphy and Calvin H. Wiley in North Carolina are only the more distinguished among the names of the early friends of education who spent freely of their wealth, their time, and their talents in furthering the ideal of a public system of education free to all and so conducted as to result in fruits of character, intelligence, and good citizenship.

What the Common School Revival Meant. — The great number of factors which entered into the school movement of the middle forty years of the nineteenth century made it not one thing, but many. In such states as New Jersey and North Carolina, where there had previously been no public school system whatever, the first stages of the movement necessarily related to the establishment of *public* schools. Where, as in New York or Ohio, in which states at the outset of that era there existed public schools of a sort, the first stress was laid upon making them *free*. Where, on the other hand, as in Massachusetts there not only existed a public school system, but a free public school system after 1827, the efforts of the friends of education in the 'thirties were directed toward improving the quality of the teachers, enriching the curriculum, getting more adequate financial resources for an improved system, introducing better methods of teaching, ameliorating modes of discipline, and building better schoolhouses.

Sufficient attention has perhaps been given to the first two phases named in the rather extensive notice of the developments which took place in New York and Pennsylvania, but a brief summary may not be out of place to indicate the general drift toward free schools in the country at large.

Among the New England States, Massachusetts, including Maine, and New Hampshire had practically eliminated school fees in 1789, although in certain localities contributions by patrons in the forms of fuel or boarding the teachers continued in vogue long into the next century. By the school law of 1827 Massachusetts placed all grades of public education upon a free tuition basis. Vermont made her schools entirely free in 1850, while this step was delayed by Connecticut until 1868, when rate bills were finally abolished. Rhode Island was tardy in establishing a state-wide public school system, but finally achieved this by legislation of 1845. This law ostensibly made the common schools free, but rate bills continued to be laid for some time thereafter. They were definitely abolished in 1869.

New York, as we have seen, eliminated school fees in 1867, after a long and gradual progress toward that consummation. Pennsylvania made her public schools free in 1834, but did not achieve a universal public system until 1868. New Jersey, after much agitation and some false starts, achieved a public system of schools in 1838, but it did not make them entirely free until 1871. Delaware and Maryland did not achieve public schools before the Civil War.

Among the southern states, North Carolina was the leader for public education. It began its system of public schools by a permissive law in 1839, which made their support dependent upon the ratification of the voters by counties and the local levy of taxation as a condition of state aid. A majority of counties accepted the conditions of the law at the first referendum and by 1846 the law had gone into operation over the entire state. In his report as State Superintendent of Schools in 1857, Calvin H. Wiley said that there were thirty-five hundred schools in the state and that twenty-four out of every twenty-five white children of the state were obtaining an education. The natural evolution of the public school system in North Carolina was interrupted by the losses occasioned by the Civil War, but up to that time full gratuity of public school instruction had not been achieved.

Although the currents of educational reform which swept through the northern and western states during the thirty years preceding the Civil War had their mild counterpart in the southern states, the social attitudes and conditions of the latter region were less favorable to public school progress than were those of the rest of the country. Progress had been made in many parts of the South and sentiment in favor of public education seemed to be developing when the outbreak of the war between the states put a sharp period to efforts at educational improvement.

The states of the Northwest Territory, committed in advance to some sort of public system by the federal land grants, went through a process of evolution toward free schools which is reminiscent of the same development in New York State. Indiana made her public schools free of all tuition charges in 1852, Ohio in 1853, Illinois in 1855, and Michigan in 1869. Wisconsin provided for free public schools in her original state constitution in 1848. Iowa, admitted to the Union in 1846, abolished the rate-bill system in 1858, while Kansas, admitted as a state in 1861, provided for an advanced type of public school administration for that time, and made her schools entirely free. By the close of the Civil War and in view of the new education policies fostered in the South under the Reconstruction governments, there could be no doubt but that the United States had definitely declared in favor of a public system of free schools.

Questions and Exercises

1. What conditions of American political administration in general and of educational administration in particular made educational advance dependent on campaigns to instruct and convince the public?
2. What practical circumstances favorably affected the development after 1830 of many agencies of "good schools" propaganda in the United States?
3. Would it be too strong a statement to say that the cities were responsible for all the educational improvement which took place in the United States between 1830 and the Civil War?
4. Explain why it was sometimes difficult to educate the voters to see the desirability of school improvement.
5. Do you consider the phrase "the common school revival" as altogether suitable to describe the educational developments which took place in the State of New York between 1795 and 1867? Give reasons for and against its use.
6. Make a chart of the progress of New York State toward a free public school system. What elements entered into that development?
7. In what respects did the evolution of Pennsylvania toward a free

public school system differ from that of New York? From anything you know about those states can you explain this difference in development?

8. Explain the various meanings attached to the phrase "the common school revival" in different states of the Union.

9. Explain why, although Mississippi and Indiana had the same initial impulse toward the establishment of a public school system by reason of the federal land grants for the support of common schools, the latter early developed such a system while the former made little progress in that direction until after the Civil War.

REFERENCES

Useful supplementary material for the foregoing chapter is to be found in E. W. KNIGHT, *Education in the United States*, Chapters VIII and IX; and in E. P. CUBBERLEY, *Public Education in the United States*, Chapter V.

The famous speech of Thaddeus Stevens, made in defense of the Pennsylvania free school law of 1834, is found in the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1898–99*, I, 516–524. The student may wish to consult for himself the following: W. J. GIFFORD, *Historical Development of the New York State High School System*, published privately by the author, Harrisonburg, Virginia; S. S. RANDALL, *The Common School System of New York;* J. P. WICKERSHAM, *History of Education in Pennsylvania.*

CHAPTER XVII

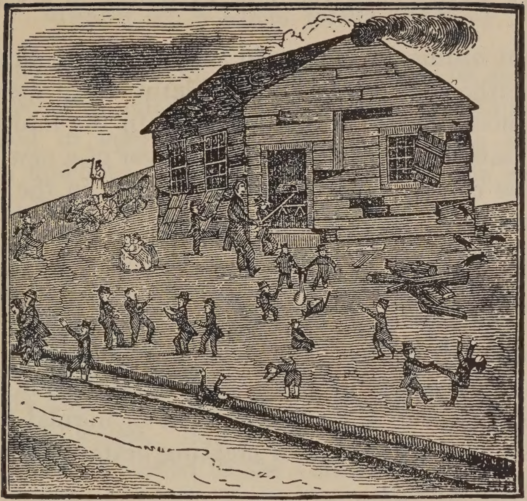
ADMINISTRATIVE MEANS OF SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

Inevitably, in describing the progress toward public support of education, mention has been made of some of the factors which were designed to operate not only in achieving free public schools, but in improving them. In the long campaign on a broad front to make the schools better, which in a very real sense continues to this day, the same opposing forces were encountered and the same tactics had to be employed as entered into the initial effort to provide support by public taxation. Means had to be found to overcome the satisfaction of local communities with the type of school with which alone they were familiar, to give them a vision of something better, and to induce them to pay the costs of a more extensive and superior type of education. The main administrative difficulty lay in the almost complete autonomy which local education authorities possessed. In other words the strategic problems were how to bring home to the school districts and district trustees a knowledge of better educational practices, how to provide means of limiting their almost complete autonomy, and how to stimulate them to greater and more intelligent educational efforts.

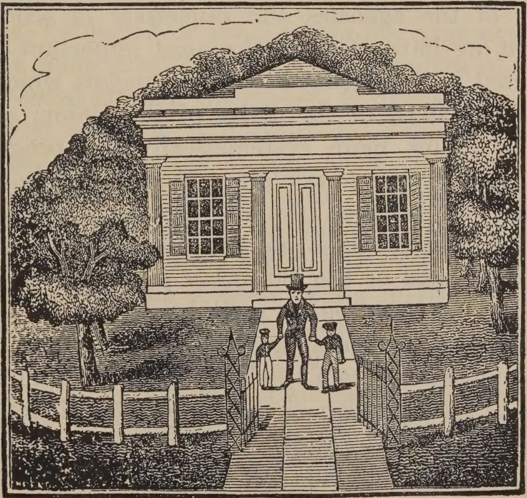
The agencies that promised most in the way of school improvement were increased guidance, stimulation, and aid from the state governments, the enlargement of the unit of local school administration, and the appointment of intermediate officials who might take over from the local authorities some of the functions, such as the examination and certification of teachers, which they were least competent to perform, and who might also be in a position continually to press home upon school officers and patrons the factors of school improvement which represented the educational progress of that era.

When one examines more closely into the objectives which the educational leaders were trying to achieve in the period from about 1830 to the beginning of the Civil War, one is impressed with the primitive nature of existing school conditions. One of their chief concerns was the transformation of an ungraded school, in which the instruction given was largely individual and in which each child used any book which he happened to possess, to a school or group of schools in which children of the same attainments could be arranged and taught in classes, using a common text. Another important preoccupation was the achievement of public school buildings, where none had been in existence, or the substitution of more efficient, sightly, and comfortable buildings for the makeshifts that had done duty in a pioneering age. The school terms of three or four months were patently inadequate and there was a constant drive for the lengthening of the school term and for securing more regular attendance of pupils. But by long odds the most important and difficult objective to be attained was the improvement of the teachers and the elevation of the internal economy of the schools.

One of the early steps in the direction of a better teaching personnel lay in the effort to take the power of examination and certification out of the hands of the school trustees. In the New England states the means of im-



AS SOME SCHOOL HOUSES LOOK.



AS A SCHOOL HOUSE SHOULD LOOK.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS ABOUT 1840

Taken from J. Orville Taylor, *Lectures on Popular Education,* Clement and Packard, New York, no date (probably about 1840).

provement ordinarily employed was to intrust this function to authorities acting for the entire town instead of to the school officers of the district. In the middle and western states the preference was in favor of a new official named the county superintendent. Much in the way of development of professional competency was expected from the holding of teachers institutes in which the teachers in service were given an opportunity of learning more subject-matter or of hearing about better methods of teaching, discipline, and school management. The most thoroughgoing proposal and development of the time was, however, the establishment of normal schools, with the specific objective of creating better teachers for the common schools.

The Influence of European Examples. — With this summary of the agencies and objectives of school improvement we have at hand the most important factors that entered into the educational campaigns which were fought out in most of the states of the Union. Before turning to follow more systematically the progress of some of these factors, it would not be out of place to note the connection between the developments which took place in the United States and the progress in elementary education in some of the European countries which has already been sketched out at some length.

The monitorial system of instruction, which was clearly a direct importation from England, exerted an important influence in the direction of more adequate classification of pupils (see pp. 251 and ff.). Since the essence of this system was the arrangement of the matter to be learned on charts through which the pupils might be guided by a monitor little more advanced than they, the children of necessity had to be classified carefully. The period of greatest influence of the monitorial system was coming to an end before 1830, for even by then its mechanical and superficial character had become evident, but it continued in operation a considerable time thereafter and did much to foster graded schools in the cities and towns in which it had been in operation.

Clearly the most influential sources of educational ideas during the "Common School Revival" were the example and theories of Pestalozzi and the systems of public education in Prussia and other German states. The literature of school method of the period reflects the spirit and often enough the direct teachings of the great Swiss leader. Samuel R. Hall in the first pedagogical work published in the United States, *Lectures on School Keeping*, 1829, is clearly much in Pestalozzi's debt, and David R. Page, in his *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, published in 1847, shows his large dependence upon the same great leader. The principles of teaching which entered into the instruction of prospective teachers in the first state normal school in Massachusetts bore clearly the Pestalozzian stamp, while the entire educational philosophy of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard was fundamentally that of Pestalozzi. The methods and materials which Pestalozzi had employed with the younger children reached the United States indirectly through England when the infant schools of that land were transported to the eastern cities in the 'twenties and constituted one of the most important means of improvement beyond the mechanical instruction given in the monitorial schools. The Pestalozzian object-teaching had already attained considerable vogue in this country long before the extremely successful administration and publicity methods of Edward A. Sheldon at Oswego had made it the chief pedagogical topic. Perhaps in no other way was Pestalozzi's influence more strongly felt in this country than in the amelioriation of the harsh and repressive discipline which had almost universally obtained in the earlier schools.

Hardly less significant than the direct influence of Pestalozzi was that of the Prussian system of public education which, in its internal economy, reflected so much of his spirit, but which, furthermore, presented an example of a whole nation organized for educational ends. Here was seen and reported by a numerous company of American observers an efficient system of educational administration. Calvin E. Stowe of Cincinnati in 1837 wrote a *Report on Elementary Education in Europe,* which dealt mainly with what he had seen in Prussia. This report was printed and circulated by a half dozen state legislatures. Horace Mann took occasion in the *Seventh Annual Report* of the Massachusetts State Board of Education (1843) to describe the Prussian school system and the modes of instruction followed in the elementary schools. This *Report,* bound to be influential in any case, attracted greater attention by reason of the controversy in which it involved its author with the schoolmasters of Boston, who were stung by its criticism, actual or implied, of the methods which they followed. An earlier work on Prussian education, Cousin's *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia,* although not written by an American observer, had wide circulation in this country and exerted undoubted influence.[1] In addition to the writings named there was published a great deal of material during the 'thirties and 'forties which familiarized the American student of public education with the Prussian schools and mode of school administration.

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[1] See V. Cousin, *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia,* translated by Sarah Austin, New York, Wiley and Long, 1835. For the influence of this work see E. P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States,* p. 272 f.

From Prussia came the example of a comprehensive system of public education, and, although the spirit of Prussian life and institutions was far different from that obtaining in the United States, there was much in Prussian education that was suggestive for American practice. While nothing, for example, could present a sharper contrast with the autocratic control of education in Prussia from the center of civil administration than the preponderant power which local education authorities in the United States possessed, yet the efficiency which the Prussian system generated led American observers to see the desirability of limiting local autonomy in educational control and to suggest plans not contrary to the spirit of American institutions whereby the advantages of state guidance and control might in some measure be secured. The Prussian solicitude for the training of her elementary school teachers and the easily noted good results of this system could suggest the desirability, and even the feasibility, of attempting the like in the United States, even though the barracks-like *Lehrerseminarien* could in no sense serve as exact models for the normal schools. The undemocratic class system of schools characteristic of Prussia could find no imitation in the United States after 1830, but its system of grading pupils on the basis of educational ability, its enriched curriculum, its enlightened methods of instruction, its triumph of school attendance, the mildness of its school discipline, and the professional competency and enthusiasm of its teachers, were all features that could be imitated without reproach. Accordingly, as we follow the development of public education in the United States, there will be much, either of aim or realization, that will recall the first effective administration of a public system of education as it was worked out in Prussia, but, on the other hand, there will be much that could have come into existence in no other land than the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Improvements in Educational Administration. — Since this narrative purports to relate the evolution of the common school, little space may be given to the important part played by the development of superior administrative arrangements.[1] It would be, however, a serious omission if the important part played by administrative improvements was not at least indicated in this connection.

The first forty years of our national life saw the beginnings of state education funds and the inauguration of state aid for local educational effort. The next thirty years exhibited a notable increase in the financial contributions of the states, which had by that time become so considerable as to suggest the desirability of having a state official whose business it was to manage these disbursements. At first the duties of this official in connection with education were almost entirely financial, so under the circumstances it seemed logical enough to add the oversight of educational affairs to the duties of the secretary of state or some other member of the governor's cabinet. During the generation preceding the Civil War, however, the education interest began to assume so great importance that it seemed desirable to provide a special officer, variously named the state superintendent of public schools, the state commissioner of common schools, or the state superintendent of public instruction, to make it his special and exclusive concern. This development was pretty general before the Civil War, and all the new states admitted to the Union between 1861 and 1890 provided immediately for a state school superintendent. This officer was generally elected by popular vote as was any other member of the state administration.

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[1] This theme has been developed at considerable length in E. P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, 155–180, in E. H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, 345–357; 380–398, and in E. W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, 280–302.

An important variation from the form of state school administration just mentioned was that developed in 1837 in Massachusetts and largely followed by the other New England states. There a State Board of Education was appointed by the governor with power to name an executive secretary. In Massachusetts the State Board was made the correspondent of the town education authorities. It was expected to keep the Legislature informed and advised on all educational matters, and to suggest ways and means of improving public education. It was as first Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education that Horace Mann accomplished his great work for education in that state, and it was as first Secretary of the State Board of Commissioners for Common Schools that Henry Barnard, in 1839, began his stirring campaign for school improvement in Connecticut.

The importance of having a state officer at the head of education was easily seen from the great gains that education made under such guidance. The state superintendent or secretary of the state board, as the case might be, held a roving commission to preach the gospel of better schools everywhere throughout the commonwealth which he served. His official position gave him influence with the legislature and with the people and brought him easily into touch with local school trustees. The devotion and enthusiasm of many of the early state school officers, even in the absence of any significant amount of official authority, were important agencies in calling to the attention of citizens and local school trustees the next steps forward to be taken.

Attention has been called specifically to the wide prevalence of the district system of educational support and control during the early national period (see pp. 307 ff.) and from time to time notice has been taken of the preponderant power which the local school trustees wielded in American education. During the second thirty years of the nineteenth century some progress was made in limiting this power, but in spite of the changes that occurred, local authorities were little disturbed in their unexampled domination until late in the century.

Of the New England states, Massachusetts, which set the example of the disintegration of the town as the unit of educational support and control, was the first to reinstate the town in a position of educational importance. By means of a law passed in 1826, the general supervision and control of all schools in the town were given to a town school committee, chosen by the people, which was empowered to choose the textbooks used in the schools and assigned the duty of examining and certificating all teachers employed in the schools of the town. The other New England states followed the lead of Massachusetts, more or less tardily, until by the year 1860 the town had been reinstated throughout most of that region, as the chief local authority in education.

In the rest of the Union, where district or township authorities existed, the tendency was to create an intermediate school official midway between the local trustees and the state school officer. New York led the way in this movement through the creation in 1841 of a deputy superintendent of schools for each county. The office was shortly afterwards abolished, but was later revived in the form of a school commissioner for each assembly district. Pennsylvania, Iowa, Illinois, California, Oregon, and Kansas created the office of county superintendent during the fifties. By 1880 the office had become general, as twenty-nine out of thirty-eight states had by that time provided for such an official.

The educational functions of the county superintendent were chiefly those of *liaison* officer between the state education office and the local trustees. He was to see that educational grants were properly applied. He was also the local mouthpiece of the state officer in his effort to secure a hearing for forward-looking policies. He was an important link also in the educational chain in that he was ordinarily given the function of examining and certificating teachers in place of the local trustees, and was also the organizer of teachers institutes. Although a great many of the early county superintendents (and some of the later ones, if the truth be told) were incompetent and lacking in professional experience and outlook, the office filled a much-felt want and contributed greatly to the stimulation of local communities and the improvement of the teaching personnel.

The Development of City School Administration. — The most noteworthy development in local school administration which occurred during the period, and one of prime importance for the whole enterprise of public education, took place in the towns and cities. This movement has been noticed incidentally in connection with the account of the evolution of the State of New York toward a free school system (see pp. 328 f.). It has already been seen that many of the towns and cities of that state were unable or unwilling to wait until the whole state had come up to the point of desiring free schools. Accordingly they petitioned the Legislature for incorporation as permanent districts under a board of education, or its equivalent, with enlarged powers of taxation and the right to provide free schools and schools of advanced grade. Such petitions were freely granted, with the result that the cities customarily represented not only a larger area for school purposes, but an area organized under a more compact and flexible system of administration than that of the single school district.[1]

Hardly less significant as a means of combating the deficiencies of the district system in New York was the permission given to districts or combinations of districts under the law of 1853 to organize, following favorable action of the voters, as a union free school district empowered to provide free education and graded schools of elementary and more advanced character.

An excellent illustration of this development of city school administration is afforded by the Ohio legislation on the subject.[2] As early as 1829 Cincinnati secured from the Legislature a special law enabling it to organize the whole city as a single school area. The management of the schools was under a board of trustees elected from each ward, while the financial support of the system was the duty of the city council. Following the plan adopted by Cincinnati, other cities of the state secured special charters from the Legislature. A general law passed in 1838 made each incorporated city, town, or borough a separate school district. It was, however, the law passed for the benefit of the city of Akron in 1847 which became the model for subsequent city school administration in Ohio and in many other states which found its terms well-designed to meet their pressing city-educational problems. According to the provisions of this law, the village of Akron was incorporated as one school district, with six or more primary schools and a centrally located grammar school.

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[1] See W. J. Gifford, *Historical Development of the New York State High School System*, 38–39, 48–49.

[2] See E. A. Miller, *The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803 to 1850*, 45–53.

The management of educational affairs was placed in the hands of an elective board of education of six members. The fiscal arrangements called for the presentation by the board of education of an estimate of expenses for the succeeding year, to the common council, with which lay the function of laying the tax and in which lay title to all school property. The city was given the privilege of maintaining a free system of graded schools topped by a grammar school in which might be taught all "subjects requisite to a respectable English education."

In the following year, the fiscal arrangements for the city of Akron were modified by an amending law so as to limit the amount that might be raised for school purposes to a tax of four mills on the dollar of property valuation. At the same time the Board of Education was made fiscally independent of the common council by being empowered to report its estimate, within that limit, direct to the county auditor, who assessed the tax without further reference to the city government. The provisions of the amended Akron law were in the following year, 1848, made to apply to any incorporated town, city, or borough in the state when desired by two-thirds of the qualified voters. This admirable law did much to reduce in Ohio the inefficiency of the district system, the inadequacy of which immediately came to light under conditions of concentrated population and in face of a desire to provide graded and higher schools.

Throughout the entire country, the example of the Akron law found much imitation, and cities and towns very generally found some means of consolidating the administration of education in the interests of efficiency and expanded offerings.

The City Superintendent. — Although the development of the city superintendency had not progressed very far by the opening of the Civil War, it had its origin in the pre-Civil War generation. The first occurrence of this important educational office was in the city of Buffalo, where, upon the reorganization of its school affairs by the law of 1837, the common council was given the functions of a board of education with power to appoint a special agent, or superintendent of schools, to have charge of its educational responsibilities. At first the functions of the city superintendent were almost exclusively financial and managerial, and accordingly it was not always a person trained in school affairs who held the post. Gradually, the element of educational leadership came to enter more and more largely into the conduct of the office. When Boston elected its first superintendent of schools in 1851, his strictly educational functions were emphasized. He was to devote himself to the study of the city school system and the condition of the schools and was to keep himself acquainted with the progress of instruction and discipline in other places, in order to suggest appropriate means for the advancement of the public schools of Boston. Although the development of the office was slow before the Civil War, it was rapid thereafter. In 1885, the office had been established in practically every city in the United States.[1] Among all the administrative developments that have taken place to accelerate the development of the public schools of this country, none is more significant than the growth of the custom of designating a trained educator to have general oversight of the educational interests of a city and to act as professional advisor to the laymen constituting the board of education. It should be remembered, however, that the developments of elementary education which we shall proceed immediately to consider for the most part occurred before the office of city superintendent of schools had been generally accepted.

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[1] See J. D. Philbrick, *City School Systems in the United States*, United States Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, 1885, No. 1.

Questions and Exercises

1. Outline the objectives that entered into the desire for better school conditions in the generation preceding the Civil War.
2. What Pestalozzian influences affected the early development of education in the United States?
3. What aspects of Prussian education could have been imitated with profit in the United States following 1830? What aspects were quite contrary to the social demands of the United States?
4. What were the advantages of having a state superintendent of public instruction and a state board of education?
5. What disadvantage was felt in connection with the district system when cities faced the problem of improving education? What administrative reorganization was effected by cities to provide them with the powers which they required?
6. Outline the terms of the "Akron law." What educational advantages resulted to the community from it?
7. What practical reasons must have led to the appointment of a superintendent of schools as the agent and professional representative of the school board?

References

Useful supplementary discussions of the topics of the foregoing chapter are found in E. P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, Chapter VI; E. W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, Chapter X; and E. H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, pp. 376–398.

For the development of city school administration, much useful information is to be found in W. J. Gifford, *Historical Development of the New York State High School System*, and in E. A. Miller, *The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803–1850*, University of Chicago Press.

A forthcoming volume by E. W. Knight, *Reports on European Education*, McGraw-Hill, contains much source material for this chapter.

Chapter XVIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A UNITARY PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES

If in many respects the United States found examples of school improvement in the older European countries which she was able in part to imitate to her advantage, in one respect at least the American development of the pre-Civil War years was unique, — namely, in the complete unity of her school system.

The Parallel School Systems of Europe. — The European countries organized their public schools with regard to the pretty definite class lines which their social constituents revealed. For the children of the common people, who would in overwhelming proportion continue in the humble economic and social conditions of their parents, was provided a common school. Its curriculum was designed to meet the needs of an unrepresented political group destined to remain politically insignificant. The common school led to the humbler occupations. For the children of the leaders of society, those well-to-do, occupying positions of leadership in the government, in the army and navy, or in business and professional life, there was provided an altogether different and a decidedly more advanced type of instruction. The costs of attendance on this level were greater than could be paid by the working classes, and the way of life into which this educational pathway led was one which the poor youth would have great difficulty in following to its end even though he might surmount the initial difficulties of attending the higher type of school. The secondary school led to the universities and to the higher posts of official and military service.

The curricula of the two types of education, common, primary, folk or elementary, and secondary, were so arranged that after a boy had spent several years in the common school, where his instruction had been limited to his own vernacular tongue, it was practically impossible for him to transfer to the secondary school where not only had the instruction from its beginning included foreign languages, but also had been conducted according to much more searching standards than those obtaining in the common school. The common school was a closed alley. It did not lead into the secondary school and it was practically impossible to transfer from it. It was a school for the common people and there was no serious thought of making it anything else. Even the teachers in this system were specifically trained for that educational rank. Chosen out of the lower middle or the working classes, the boys who would become teachers in the common schools were trained in institutions maintained for that purpose and no other. When they had finished their course in the *Lehrerseminarien*, or normal schools, they could teach in the common schools, but they were unable to use the training they had received as a means of entrance upon university studies, since the normal schools had no connection whatever with any higher grade of scientific or professional instruction.

Early Imitation in America of the European Dual System. — We have seen that in the early developments of public education in the United States up to about 1830, there was a very definite tendency to reproduce these Old World distinctions between the common school and the secondary school. In the New England states which at an early date provided both common and Latin grammar schools, the two systems did not connect. The New York example is indicative of the same tendency, for while it placed secondary and higher education under the control of the Board of Regents as early as 1784, it did not take any steps toward the development of a comprehensive administrative system for elementary education until 1812, when the latter was organized under a state superintendent of common schools in complete independence of the Board of Regents. This administrative separation of the two grades of education continued in New York until 1904.

The same early tendency to separate the common from the secondary schools is abundantly illustrated by the dominant tendency during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter or more of the nineteenth to make the provision of secondary education in private academies the customary mode of secondary school supply. Even in the New England states during that period, the drift was strongly away from the public maintenance of town grammar schools and toward the chartering of academies, privately managed and maintained (see pp. 314 ff.).

The Rise of the Education Ladder in the United States. — During the thirty years preceding the Civil War, there developed a counter-tendency against the policy of separation of the two grades of education, which was to shift American school organization away from the European precedents and practices and to create a unified, unitary system of public education. The schools were to be so arranged that the pupil entering the lowest grade of the common school could proceed to a grade of public instruction which paralleled that of the academy and which could serve him as the means of preparation for college entrance. This change occurred at the same time that the common schools were being made free, with the result that the higher grades of public education followed the lower in the drift toward complete gratuity of instruction.

Thus was laid an open road, and a free road, for American children from cramped economic circumstances and social obscurity to such positions of leadership as depended upon education. In respect to the richness of the educational opportunity which was thereby offered to all, without respect to social rank or economic condition, the United States led the way among Western peoples. For a half century and more, the generosity of its educational organization has been unequalled among the nations of Europe.

The ultimate causes of the unitary system of public education which developed in this country are undoubtedly to be discovered in the economic and social circumstances which had their rise in the great endowment of cheap land with which it had been blessed (see pp. 280 and ff.). This factor operated powerfully in the extension of the suffrage to all adult males. It also provided economic opportunity which enabled individuals and families in a short time to improve their social position in a community. It brought about the expectancy of change of individual status and a new faith in the power of the individual to achieve. It also played a large part in the general leveling process which had long been at work in the English colonies on this side the Atlantic, but which was especially evident in the political generation of Andrew Jackson and in the two or three decades following. The distinctions between rich and poor, between educated and uneducated, had, over vast areas of the country, been eroded to the point where such distinctions could no longer serve as a basis for a hard and fast division of education. Accordingly when it had been decreed that public education should be the order of the new day, one system of schools received all, partly because such practice held nothing repugnant to the ruling social taste, and partly because it was the most economical mode of procedure.

For the same reason, when local communities strove to extend the school offerings beyond the elementary course possible to the ungraded district school, they added subjects of study, grades of elementary instruction, and even secondary departments, simply as the logical growth and expansion of the initial unitary educational endeavor. And in the same spirit the children of the poor who were inclined to take advantage of these extended opportunities and could profit by them, came into enjoyment of the enlarged public bounty without question or hindrance.

Another factor which undoubtedly contributed to the development of a unitary system of schools in the United States was the large amount of local autonomy which communities enjoyed in the management of school affairs. The mandates laid upon communities by state law during the early decades of public education were for the most part mute with respect to the nature and extent of the instruction to be given or were mere statements of minimal expectations. There were no adequately organized central education authorities in the various states to draw up comprehensive schemes of school organization or to provide courses of study for each type of school. As a result, the communities had large power to determine what amounts of education should be provided and in what institutional forms. It was in a situation which combined an increasing demand for better educational provisions with almost uncontrolled local authority to do what seemed best to meet that demand that the American unitary system of graded elementary and high schools developed.

THE RISE OF A GRADED SYSTEM OF SCHOOLS

For the first thirty years of the nineteenth century little progress had been made in the direction of classifying pupils according to age and educational achievement except in connection with the monitorial system employed in a large number of towns and cities. For the most part, up to that time, the centers of population met the educational need by multiplying the typical ungraded district schools in which children of all ages were taught by a single teacher and, in some cases, by adding advanced departments of instruction.

The Development of a Graded System in Boston. — The first stage in the process of differentiation of instruction took place in terms of schools rather than in terms of classes. This stage is well represented in the history of the schools of Boston, where from 1635 on there was a free Latin Grammar School open to boys only. Early in the eighteenth century separate " writing " and " reading " schools were added, and in 1789 a report of the Boston school committee shows that there were, in addition to the Latin Grammar School, three writing schools and three reading schools maintained under the town's auspices for both boys and girls. In the writing school were taught " writing, and also arithmetic in the various branches usually taught in the town schools, including vulgar and decimal fractions." In the reading schools " the children of both sexes were to be taught to spell, accent, and read both prose and verse, and also to be instructed in English grammar and composition." Until

1818, no public provision was made in Boston for the instruction of beginners. For this stage of education, the parents were responsible and had to provide privately for having their children taught to read. In that year a system of twenty primary schools taught by women teachers was inaugurated. Each school was divided into four classes, all under the instruction of a single teacher. The upper range of instruction in the primary schools is indicated by the following quotations from the school committee regulations of 1821:

> "No one of the second class shall be advanced to the first class (the highest) who has not learned perfectly by heart, and recited, as far as practicable, all the reading lessons in Kelley's spelling-book, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer; all the stops and marks, and their uses in reading; and in Bingham's spelling-book the use of the common abbreviations, as A.M., D.D., LL.D., etc.; the use of numbers and letters used for numbers, in reading; the catalogue of words of similar sound, but different in spelling and signification; the catalogue of vulgarisms, such as chimney, not chimbly — vinegar, not winegar, etc."[1]

In 1821 an English Classical High School was added to continue a general education to more advanced stages and two years later the work of the reading school was organized in four divisions, each with a specified subject-matter assignment.

This system, which held sway until after the middle of the century, was often referred to as a "double-headed system." The division was a vertical one, on the basis of subjects taught, instead of being horizontal, or on the basis of the age and attainments of the pupils. The boys and girls alternated morning and afternoon in their attendance on the "writing" and "reading" schools.

[1] Quoted in H. Barnard, *American Journal of Education,* Volume XIX, 471.

Some differentiation of duties was accomplished in the grammar schools, the name applied to the writing and reading schools considered together, by the appointment of assistants to the masters and by providing small rooms, off the main rooms, in which recitations might be held. The system was unwieldy and relatively expensive, however, and an innovation, introduced in connection with the new Quincy Grammar School, opened in 1848, soon after was adopted throughout the city. This school, of which John D. Philbrick was the first principal, was organized on the basis of a unified curriculum, with a principal master and twelve assistants, each in charge of one of the twelve classrooms which the new building contained. The new arrangement which allowed the grading of the grammar classes was found to be both less expensive and more efficient, and all the new grammar school buildings erected followed its plan, while the work in the old buildings was adapted to it as far as possible.

The close connection existing between the arrangement of instruction and school architecture is shown in the development of the Boston schools. The type school building until the 'thirties was a "two-story edifice, each story containing one hall or schoolroom, with seats for about one hundred and eighty pupils. These halls were wholly destitute of such appendages or conveniences as recitation rooms, clothes-rooms, closets, and blackboards." The first modification of this type was brought about to accommodate a primary school in the lowest story, with the customary two stories for grammar school uses rising above it. About 1840 "the first important step of progress consisted in the addition of two recitation rooms, of moderate dimensions, to each of the two large halls, or schoolrooms."[1]

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[1] Quotations from *Report of the School Committee*, Boston, 1874.

The Quincy School, opened in 1848, was a radical departure from the accepted models of architecture just as its educational organization was a revolution. It was four stories high, the fourth story being a hall large enough to seat the entire student body. There were twelve classrooms, with a total seating capacity of six hundred sixty seats. A separate desk and chair were provided for each pupil.

When Mr. Philbrick became the superintendent of the schools of Boston in 1857, he found the primary division organized in six grades, but all six were being taught by every teacher in a single room. To gain the advantages of a better class system, he recommended that a new type of primary school building should be constructed that would have six rooms, each holding one of the six primary grades under a single teacher. After 1864 this plan began to go into effect, with the result of introducing a real graded system in the primary division.

It is easily seen that Boston, reputed to be in a leading position in American education during the first half of the nineteenth century, made pragmatic progress toward a graded system of instruction. Such changes as it made were prompted by local needs and accomplished by means particular to Boston. No large and compelling theory of school organization seems to have operated in that city and no authoritative example was followed. The same may be said of the entire movement in the direction of grading the schools. If any two cities followed the same plan of organization in those early years, the circumstance must be attributed to accident rather than to design.

Local Initiative and Free Experimentation in Grading. — In general, however, a rough chart of the progress in grading effected might be constructed as follows. In the earliest stage of school provision in a town or city, the problem presented by an increase in the school population was met by the erection of additional ungraded district schools. When the concentration reached a certain point, instead of creating another ungraded school, the pupils were divided into two schools either on the basis of sex or of age. One school might be attended by boys only and another by girls only, or the younger children might be sent to one school and the older children to another. When, in the course of evolution of a city school system, the advantages of further division became evident, often a three-part system was created with a primary, an intermediate, and a grammar, or secondary, section. Many town systems went through a three-three-three plan, with a three-year grouping for each of the types of school named, under three teachers. Considerable variety of nomenclature was employed in naming these schools, and there was likewise considerable diversity in the assignment of years to divisions and in the creation of subdivisions of one or more or all of the parts of the system. But throughout there were in operation two controlling factors — the extension of school offerings upward and the tendency to concentrate the labor of teachers upon a narrower range of instruction. The ultimate division, short of departmentalized teaching, would result in having a single teacher for the work of each year or half-year group.

Educating the Public in the Matter of School Gradation. — It was during the 'thirties that the attention of American friends of education was called to the superior results gained under a graded system of instruction in the more advanced countries of Europe, and particularly in Prussia. The American observers, whose contributions to educational progress have been discussed in an earlier connection, told their readers about the careful classification of pupils which was there followed and recommended the adoption of the same principle in this country. This was one of the points regarding which Horace Mann fell into violent controversy with the schoolmasters of Boston. The reports of Henry Barnard, as Secretary of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut, stressed the desirability of at least dividing the schools into three grades, primary, intermediate, or secondary, and a high school, with evening schools for the use of employed youth whose early education had been neglected. Mr. Barnard had formulated his ideas regarding the gradation of public schools as early as 1838, when he began his campaign for school improvement in Connecticut. At that time he pointed out the physical discomfort that was inevitable when both older and younger pupils were crowded together in schoolhouses lacking in seats and furniture suitable to either. He also recognized the impossibility of providing in the ungraded district school appropriate and progressive instruction or of maintaining a system of discipline adapted to the needs of both young and old. The variety of skills and special gifts necessary for giving instruction in all grades and all subjects ranging from that appropriate to the beginner to that which would interest and stimulate the most advanced pupils, was likewise too great to be found in a single individual, and even if such a miraculously gifted teacher could be found, the number of classes and individual recitations to be attended to would reduce such instruction to the mere repetition of the words of a book.

The principle to be followed in the classification of pupils, Mr. Barnard believed, was equality of attainments, which implied a certain similarity of age. Each class should be as large as was consistent with thoroughness and minuteness of individual examination. A good teacher, in his opinion, could teach a class of forty as well as a class of ten and with far more profit to each individual than if the same amount of time was divided up among four classes, each containing one-fourth of the whole number. When the teacher was intrusted with the care of but few studies and had few recitations he could have no excuse but indolence, or the want of capacity, if he did not master those subjects thoroughly and soon acquire the most skillful and varied methods of teaching them. Not the least of the advantages of the gradation of schools was to arise from the possibilities of supervision which accompanied it. He says: "In a large school, properly classified, a division of labor can be introduced in the department of government, as well as in that of instruction. By assigning the different studies to a sufficient number of assistants, in separate classrooms, each well qualified to teach the branches assigned, the principal teacher may be selected with special reference to his ability in arranging the studies, and order of exercises of the school, in administering its discipline, in adapting moral instruction to individual scholars, and superintending the operations of each classroom, so as to secure the harmonious action and progress of every department. The talents and tact required for these and similar duties are more rarely found than the skill and attainments required to teach successfully a particular study. When found, the influence of such a principal, possessing to a high degree the executive talent spoken of, will be felt through every class, and by every subordinate teacher, giving tone and efficiency to the whole school."

The absence of any preconceived plan of gradation in Mr. Barnard's mind at that time is shown by the fact that he believed that the extent to which the principle could be carried depended upon local circumstances of geography, population, and school offerings. He advanced, however, the statement that a regular gradation of schools might embrace primary, secondary, and high schools, with intermediate departments between each grade and supplementary schools to meet the wants of pupils not provided for in any of the divisions named. For a beginning in Connecticut in 1858 he would propose, as the first grade of instruction, a primary school designed for children of three to eight years of age.

> "These schools can be accommodated, in compact villages, in the same building with the secondary or high school; but in most large districts, it will be necessary and desirable to locate them in different neighborhoods, to meet the peculiarities of the population, and facilitate the regular attendance of very young children and relieve the anxiety of parents for their safety on their way to and from school. The schoolroom should be light, cheerful, and large enough for the evolutions of large classes, furnished with appropriate seats, furniture, apparatus and means of visible illustration, and having a retired, dry and airy playground, with a shelter to resort to in inclement weather, and with flower borders, shrubbery and shade trees, which they should be taught to love and respect. The playground is as essential as the schoolroom, for a primary school, and is indeed the uncovered schoolroom of physical and moral education, and the place where the manners and personal habits of children can be better trained than elsewhere. With them, the hours of play and study, of confinement and recreation, must alternate more frequently than with older pupils. To teach these schools properly, — to regulate the hours of play and study so as to give variety, vivacity, and interest to all of the exercises, without over-exciting the nervous system, or overtasking any faculty of mind or body, — to train boys and girls to mild dispositions, graceful and respectful manners, and unquestioning obedience, — to cultivate the senses to habits of quick and accurate observation and discrimination, — to prevent the formation of artificial and sing-song tones, — to teach the use of the voice, and of simple, ready and correct

> language, and to begin in this way and by appropriate exercises in drawing, calculation, and lessons on the properties and classification of objects, the cultivation of the intellectual faculties, — to do all these things and more, require in the teacher a rare union of qualities, seldom found in one in a hundred of the male sex, and to be looked for with the greatest chance of success among females 'in whose own hearts, love, hope and patience, have first kept school.'"[1]

The secondary schools in his plan were to receive the pupils at about the age of eight and hold them until about the age of twelve. He asserted that regular attendance at such a school under good conditions of instruction would furnish the pupils with as good a knowledge of reading, arithmetic, penmanship, drawing, geography, history, and the uses of language in composition and speech, as was ever acquired in the ordinary schools by the pupils at the age of sixteen.

The high school should receive pupils from the secondary school and "carry them forward in a more comprehensive course of instruction, embracing a continuation of their former studies and especially of the English language and drawing, and a knowledge of algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, with their applications, the elements of mechanics and natural philosophy and chemistry, natural history, including natural theology, mental and moral science, political economy, physiology, and the Constitution of the United States. He characterized this course as one that "should give to every young man a thorough English education, preparatory to the pursuits of agriculture, commerce, trade, manufactures, and the mechanical arts, and if desired, for college; and to every young woman, a well-disciplined mind, high moral aims, and practical views of her own duties, and those resources of health, thought, manners, and conversation, which bless alike the highest and the lowest stations of life." [1]

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[1] H. Barnard, *American Journal of Education*, Vol. II, pp. 460–461.

Even earlier than the support offered the practice of school grading by Henry Barnard was the plea in behalf of more accurate classification of pupils made by Samuel A. Burnside before the American Institute of Instruction at its annual meeting in 1833. Pointing out the impossibility of teaching adequately the whole compass of studies "from the first lessons in the alphabet to the grave subjects of mathematics and philosophy" in a one-teacher ungraded school, he sets forth the successful experiment in grading pupils which had been made in his home town of Worcester. There a system was followed which embraced infant schools, primary schools, grammar schools, and a classical school for boys and a high school for girls.

A pronouncement made in 1856 by John D. Philbrick in his report to the General Assembly of Connecticut while he was serving as Superintendent of Common Schools of that state, deserves mention not only because it represents the emphasis laid by education officials during the 'fifties upon this aspect of school improvement, but also because it exhibits in a striking way the essential unity which the public system of education had assumed by that time. He took for example a hypothetical school district with six hundred pupils residing within a reasonable distance from a central point and supposed the erection of a union schoolhouse containing twelve rooms, each capable of accommodating fifty pupils. Let the six hundred pupils be distributed among the twelve rooms according to their advancement and then make a further division of the pupils in each room so as to have two classes of substantially like attainments and following the same studies. Provide a principal or superintendent for the general supervision and direction of this school and give him one male and ten female assistants so that there would be one teacher for each room. The scholars in the lowest room would consist of very small children, just beginning to read and spell, those in the next room would be a little older and a step higher in their studies, — and so on until in the upper department we should find young ladies and young gentlemen engaged in studies appropriate to a high school. Those in the same class would invariably have the same class books, and each department would be supplied with a teacher especially adapted to its grade and studies, and furnished with all the requisite books and apparatus. This, he said, was what was meant by a thoroughly graded school, each class being just large enough to enable the teacher to work to advantage and no one being so large as to be unmanageable.[1]

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[1] H. Barnard, *American Journal of Education*, Vol. II, pp. 455 ff.

State Superintendents Support the Graded System. — By the 'fifties the agitation for the adoption of graded schools was much in evidence in the reports of state education officers. In New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan, to mention a few of the more conspicuous examples, the support of the highest state education officer offered to improvement of schools by means of grading was conspicuous. The example of Superintendent Philbrick's interest has just been noted. In Ohio, the State Commissioner of Common Schools in his annual report of 1854 classified graded schools as union schools consisting of two, three, four, or five departments to each of which the pupils are distributed according to age and attainment and placed under teachers adapted to each grade. These schools were called primary, secondary, intermediate, and high school. In his next annual report he informed the General Assembly that within the previous two years graded or union schools had been established in nearly one hundred fifty towns and villages of the state and set forth at length the advantages to be derived from an efficient system of grading. The report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Michigan in 1857 shows the customary division of a unitary school system in that state as comprising a primary school of five or six years and an academic department subdivided into a grammar school of three years and a high school of like length of course. To pass from the grammar school to the high school, the pupils had to pass an examination in arithmetic, algebra, grammar, analysis, simple rules of composition, physiology, bookkeeping or drawing, and history of the United States. The high school offered two courses, the scientific and the classical. It is of interest to note that the classical course offered four years of Latin, begun in the last year of the grammar school, and three years of Greek.

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[1] Quoted in H. Barnard, *American Journal of Education*, Vol. II, p. 471.

In Indiana the first report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction sets forth in 1852 a matured plan of school gradation. Deploring the old system in which one single teacher was known to have given instruction "everyday to one hundred scholars, ranging in age from four years to twenty-one years, and scattered along the whole course of education from the alphabet to astronomy and the ancient languages," the superintendent says that the graded system was rapidly being introduced. He indicates as a usual basis of school division the three grades, primary, secondary, and high school. In each city there should be as many primary schools as the convenience of the people might require, two or three secondary schools, and one high school. In cities covering a large area, the primary and secondary schools should be conveniently located in different sections of the city and the high school at some central point, but in cities compactly built all the schools of different grades might be located in separate rooms in a large building. The new educational leader of the state also pointed out the way whereby even rural districts might enjoy superior educational opportunities through the maintenance of local primary schools and a central township high school.

An examination of the reports of state school officers in other states and of the opinions of educational leaders of the middle fifty years of the nineteenth century reveals a very general interest in the development of school gradation and a strong conviction of its desirability.

The Legal Basis of the Unitary System. — The reader will recall that the first school law of Massachusetts, passed in 1647, provided for both common and Latin schools to be maintained under certain conditions of population by the towns of the colony. These two types of school served different educational aims and different portions of the community, since the boys attending the Latin grammar school were ostensibly preparing for Harvard College, while the main educational objective of the common schools was to teach children to read and write. In 1789, a decrease of town interest in the grammar schools was indicated by the passage of a law that released a great many towns from their obligation to maintain such schools, while a later law passed in 1826 relieved all but six towns of the state from any responsibility beyond that of maintaining common schools. Hardly, however, had this law been passed when a new law was made the basis of school provision in Massachusetts, which recalled the towns of the state to their former duty of supplying not only common but superior schools at public expense.

This law, which may justly be regarded as the basis for the expansion of educational offerings upward from the elementary school in Massachusetts, called upon each town or district containing fifty families to maintain a school for the instruction of children in orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, and good behavior. Each city, town, or district containing five hundred families was expected to maintain a school or schools in which would be taught in addition to the aforesaid branches, the history of the United States, bookkeeping by single entry, geometry, surveying, and algebra. Still a third and higher grade of school was expected of all cities, towns, or districts of four thousand inhabitants in which were to be taught Latin and Greek, history, rhetoric, and logic. All of these grades of education were to be free to the children of the districts.

This Massachusetts law, while it was subsequently modified, may justly be regarded as an important landmark in the development of a unitary system of education in the United States. It called for the maintenance by the same public education authorities of a range of education which included all that was customarily thought of as the province of the elementary school and enough of the subjects of the secondary school curriculum to serve as a means of preparing youth for college. In this it represented a union of the functions of elementary and secondary education, and opened up both types of schooling to all the children of the community. On such a basis there could be little legal hindrance to the efforts of local school authorities interested in establishing superior instruction. Indeed, they could hardly escape the legal mandate to provide secondary education under certain conditions of population.

In all states in which there were legally constituted local school authorities there seems to have been no legal limitation placed upon them with respect to the grading of schools and the addition of subjects to be taught in the district schools. Much of the special legislation of the period, which was indirectly related to the grading and extension of schools, was passed with reference to the reconstitution of such local authorities, as in the State of New York, or to grant other privileges than the right to improve the schools. In the State of New York, at a time when many cities were appealing to the legislature for the right to organize as enlarged school districts with boards of education, many districts which had grown beyond the utility of the ungraded school were establishing graded systems and offering higher branches of study with the full approval of the state education authorities.[1] Decisions of the State Superintendent of Common Schools favored the consolidation of school districts for the improvement of the curriculum, so that without any special legal provision communities were combining in order to develop graded schools. The Union Free School Act of 1853 gave abundant legal opportunity for the consolidation of districts for the establishment of free graded schools culminating in full-fledged high schools. With this act a definite junction of the elementary education system with the secondary system had taken place. District school officers might erect "academical" departments, or high schools, which came under the joint jurisdiction of the State Superintendent of Common Schools and the Board of Regents.

In the state of Pennsylvania, there appeared to be no question as to the right of local school boards to grade the schools under their jurisdiction and to add high school departments if local sentiment supported such action. Under this general authorization many localities in the state had divided their school systems into departments, were offering higher studies, and in some cases maintaining what were called high schools even before the state law had named the subjects to be taught in a common school, or given express permission for the establishment of graded schools and the study of the higher branches.[1] In many states, after local school officers had made considerable progress over a period of years in developing graded systems and adding on high schools, on no authority other than the presumption that they could take any action in improving the schools for which they could secure public support, the legal position of the expanded system was made unassailable by permissive state legislation. In a number of states, however, such legislation was delayed until after a reaction had set in against this generous conception of the rights of school boards, and taxpayers' actions were brought in the court to restrain the action of local authorities in the establishment of high schools.

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[1] See W. J. Gifford, *The Historical Development of the New York State High School System*, p. 34 ff.

The most famous of these cases was the so-called Kalamazoo High School Case, in which a decision was handed down in 1872 by Justice Thomas M. Cooley for the Supreme Court of the state of Michigan. Action had been brought against the directors of school district No. 1 of Kalamazoo " to restrain the collection of such portion of the school taxes assessed against complainants for the year 1872 as have been voted for the support of the high school in that village and for the payment of the superintendent." The decision of the Court sustained the school board and established as law the informal sanction which that board and many others had followed. The conclusion of the Court's decision was as follows: "We content ourselves with the statement that neither in our state policy, in our constitution, nor in our laws, do we find the primary school districts restricted in the branches of knowledge which their officers may cause to be taught, or the grade of instruction that may be given, if the voters consent in regular form to bear the expense and raise the taxes for the purpose."

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[1] See J. P. Wickersham, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, pp. 371–372.

The decision of the Court in the Kalamazoo Case was followed as precedent in other similar cases brought up at about the same time in other states, with the result that the high school as a part of the unitary public system of education was placed on unassailable legal grounds.

Development of the 8–4 Plan. — It must be evident from what has already been said about the development of school gradation in the United States that at the outset there was no uniformity of practice in the sectioning of the total educational offerings of local school systems. One state differed from another in the matter of a preferred division, while there existed even among the local communities of the same state considerable diversity of practice.

The educational factors involved were numerous, but at least two stand out as strongly influential. One of these was the tendency to expand the common school curriculum by the additions of such new subjects as grammar, composition, United States history and government, geography, algebra, geometry, drawing, bookkeeping, and other subjects which were regarded as a logical part of an "English" education. The other was the existence of a secondary school with its more advanced curriculum, performing the double function of completing a general education and preparing for college. The public school system as finally organized represented the conjunction and to a certain extent the fusion of the educational functions of the common school and the academy. The early division of the entire educational program as made by localities depended upon local circumstances, local educational ambitions, and also largely upon the factor of pupil age.

In most cases the schools received children at the age of five or six, a considerable proportion of whom could be counted on to continue with reasonably regular attendance until the age of fourteen or fifteen. The progressive communities evidently attempted to provide a school program that would keep the pupils profitably employed. In some cases this need was met by common district schools and a central grammar school. In other cases the division was into three schools each divided into three classes and called primary, intermediate, and grammar, or by some alternative nomenclature. In the course of time many communities discovered that the brighter children had finished the course ahead of their age group or for some other reason could be kept in school with profit for a longer time if more advanced subjects were offered. Accordingly, having the power in their hands and working to the advantage of their own children it was a common practice for still another and higher grade of school to be provided at public expense. Although here again there was considerable diversity in the names given to this grade of education, common practice tended toward the use of the name high school.

In the early years of the high school, there was no authoritative standard in most states according to which it should be organized. Its curriculum might include only the subjects of a good grammar school or it might take over the program of the academy, offering Latin and Greek and other subjects appropriate to a college.

This diversity is exhibited in the practices of Ohio and New York. In the former, the educational privileges granted by the Akron law of 1847 (see p. 356) and in 1848 extended to any other incorporated city, town, or village in the state, were limited to the provision of graded and grammar schools in which no other language than English or German might be taught. The words of the Akron law limited instruction to " subjects requisite to a respectable English education." In New York, on the other hand, the public school authorities practically took over the academies in their localities and continued under public auspices the extensive offerings of a standardized secondary school. In New England, where the Latin grammar school to a certain extent persisted, there was a tendency to differentiate high school offerings into a classical and an English course, with the former often a year or two longer than the latter.

Some high schools were organized to cover a period of two years, some three, some four, some five, while in some cities the total public provision for education embraced a ten-year program, in others eleven, in others twelve, and in still others thirteen.

In 1869, Mr. Henry Barnard, at that time United States Commissioner of Education, published as part of Volume XIX of the *American Journal of Education* a nation-wide statistical survey of educational practices and conditions in the cities of the United States. Facts regarding the arrangement of the city systems in schools and grades are given in this volume.[1] Examination of the reports by cities reveals a continuation at that time of the diversity which characterized both theory and practice of school grading in its early stages in this country. The total provision of twelve years of education variously divided recurs rather frequently, but there is nothing to be discovered in the reports which indicates any uniform acceptance at that time of an 8–4 plan. Perhaps the total of eight years of elementary school and four years of high schools is reported more often than any other, but the exceptions are numerous.

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[1] See pp. 467–576.

By the year 1885, when John D. Philbrick made a special report for the United States Bureau of Education on *City School Systems in the United States*[1] the situation had changed somewhat definitely in the direction of the 8–4 plan of organization. Mr. Philbrick said that the characteristic fact in the pedagogical organization of the city schools was the division of the schools into three grades, high, grammar, and primary. The grammar and primary schools taken together constituted the elementary school and were usually so arranged that the pupil would complete the work at the age of fourteen. In St. Louis he found the schools divided into primary, grammar, and high schools, with four years devoted to each and each subdivided into four classes, the work of which was expected to be completed in one year. He reported that this plan of organization had been widely followed in the Western cities. In New England, however, the tendency was to provide nine elementary grades, divided between a primary school of three grades and a grammar school of six. The elementary school was surmounted by a four-year high school.

The Employment of Women as Teachers. — An increase in the number of women teachers in the schools after the third decade of the nineteenth century deserves some notice in connection with the development of a graded system, for the two phenomena were closely related. Even in colonial times, women were employed as teachers for the younger children, and during the early nineteenth century it was a commonplace of New England school practice to have a woman teacher in charge of the district school during the summer months when the older pupils were not in attendance. With the spread of infant schools and the development of primary schools in and after the second decade of the same century, the employment of women as teachers in those grades of education became very general.

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[1] See United States Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No. 1, 1885, pp. 19 ff.

From the beginning of the agitation in favor of graded schools, it was pointed out that the arrangement of the school population on an age-attainment basis would make it possible to employ " females," in the terminology which that generation preferred, for the younger and less advanced children. In an address delivered before the American Institute of Instruction in 1833, Samuel A. Burnside reported that in the village of Worcester, Massachusetts, six out of eight permanent schools were ably taught by ladies, and he recommended that all primary schools should be taught by members of that sex. He considered that the moral advantage of having women as teachers was the most important ground for preferring them, but he added that even if there were no other consideration, the cheapness of such a policy would entitle it to public notice and experiment. In Worcester he reported that women teachers were being paid at the rate of twenty-five dollars a month.

In 1838, Henry Barnard began his campaign for the improvement of schools in Connecticut, and one of the means of betterment he proposed was the employment of women as teachers in the primary school. He thought them peculiarly adapted to the work of the elementary instruction which " required in the teacher a rare union of qualities, seldom found in one in a hundred of the male sex, and to be looked for with the greatest chance of success among females, in whose own hearts, love, hope and patience have first kept school."

"The earlier we can establish," he said, "in every populous district, primary schools under female teachers, whose hearts are made strong by deep religious principle, who have faith in the power of Christian love steadily exerted to fashion anew the bad manners, and soften the harsh and self-willed perverseness of neglected children, with patience to begin every morning, with but little if any perceptible advance beyond where they began the previous morning, with prompt and kind sympathies, and ready skill in music, drawing, and oral methods, the better it will be for the cause of education, and for every other good cause."[1]

The same tribute to the superiority of women teachers was paid in 1854 by the venerable president of Brown University, Francis Wayland, at a meeting of the American Institute of Instruction. By the gradation of schools, he said, a vast field was opened for the employment of women as teachers. Women were already performing a large portion of the teaching in New England and were doing it so well that that portion was rapidly growing larger. Women, he said, had a much greater natural adaptation to the work of instruction than men, who only occasionally were possessed of this peculiar endowment, while among women it was almost universal.

The economic note was more definitely emphasized by Superintendent Philbrick of Boston in describing the changes which occurred in the grammar school system in Boston with the erection of the Quincy School in 1848 (see p. 367). The abolition of the old "double-headed" system of writing and reading schools was urged, he says, "on economical grounds." The single-headed school was to be "a large school, with six hundred or more pupils, in separate rooms taught by teachers on low salaries, — the salary of a female assistant being then one-sixth that of a master. This arrangement proved to be very cheap in comparison with the old one, and this consideration hastened the progress of the change from the old to the new."[1]

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[1] *American Journal of Education,* Vol. II, p. 461.

Perhaps in no connection have the professional and economic notes as related to the employment of women as teachers sounded more closely in unison than in an address delivered by a gentleman of the Old South on occasion of the inauguration of a common school system in Charleston, South Carolina. Among the advantages of the graded system which had been adopted was, he said, the employment of a considerable number of young ladies as teachers. "The higher moral instinct and the more refined tastes of females, together with their patient and sympathizing nature, fit them in an eminent degree for teaching the young. . . . In all teaching other than the exact and mental sciences, if the latter may be so called, women make, perhaps, the best teachers. Unfortunately for them they have but few modes by which to obtain an honorable independence, and even this occupation of teaching has been taken from them. The consequence is that there is but little inducement to women in the middling classes of life to seek a higher education. We propose to change this; we propose to employ young ladies in all the lower departments, both for the boys and the girls. . . . This element in our common schools will enable us to procure teachers at a much lower rate than if we were obliged to employ men throughout, and will bring education everywhere within the reach of ordinary means."[1]

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[1] Report of the School Committee, Boston, 1874, p. 224.

It is hardly a matter for wonder that, with women teachers possessing such manifest moral and professional superiority over men and being employable at a fraction of the cost of men, they should be preferred in the new graded systems which were rapidly developing between 1830 and 1870. The report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1868 showed statistics for forty-two cities of the United States which indicated that there were 901 male and 8220 female teachers in the cities comprised in the report. The average yearly salary paid the men was $1702.55 and the average yearly salary paid the women was $542.45.[2]

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What early traces are discoverable of a tendency in the United States to reproduce in this country the parallel system of European schools?

2. What were the ultimate causes of the development of a unitary system of schools in the United States?

3. Make a diagram showing the various types of schools in the Boston system and their relationships to one another in 1789; in 1821. How did the plan adopted for the Quincy Grammar School in that city change the relationships among the schools?

4. Why does so much variety appear in the grading experiments of various towns and cities in the United States? Would this have occurred in France and Germany?

5. What arguments were advanced in favor of the graded system?

6. Was the right of school boards to extend the curriculum beyond the commonly taught branches generally admitted in the United States? What was the bearing on this right of the Kalamazoo Case? Did the opinion of the court in this case support the traditional practices?

7. It has been claimed that the 8–4 plan was borrowed from Prussia.

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[1] *American Journal of Education*, Vol. II, 1856, p. 555.

[2] See *American Journal of Education*, Vol. IX, p. 499.

Is there any evidence, from the data given in the foregoing chapter, that the plan was borrowed or could have been borrowed from any source whatever?

8. How did the availability of women teachers affect the development of the graded system?

9. Describe the happy circumstances according to which better teaching became available in a graded system at less cost.

REFERENCES

Much valuable material for an understanding of the development of the graded school is contained in E. P. CUBBERLEY, *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 215–246.

CHAPTER XIX

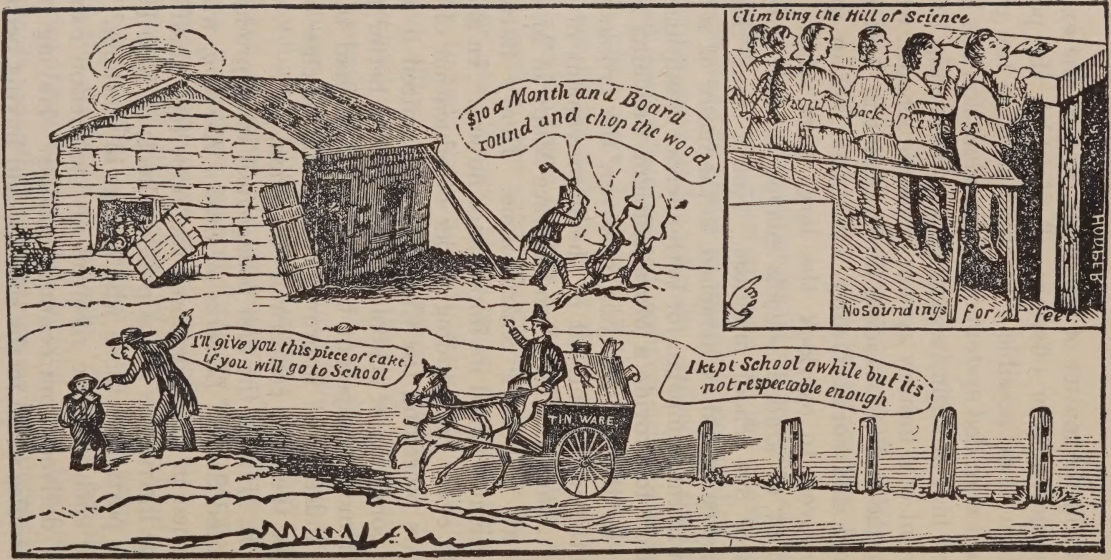
THE EARLY CAMPAIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF INSTRUCTION

Of that many-faceted social movement known as the Common School Revival, one of the most important aspects was the effort to improve the quality of the instruction given in the schools. Indeed, in the last analysis, all developments of educational administration which took place were furthered with the single purpose of making better schools. In such a state as Massachusetts, where there existed a system of public school administration, the activities of such leaders as James G. Carter and Horace Mann were directed almost exclusively to such concerns as vitalizing the activities of local school officers, improving school buildings, lengthening the school term, expanding the curriculum, and bettering the morale and efficiency of the teachers; and as one examines into the educational history of the thirty years preceding the Civil War it becomes apparent that, sooner or later, wherever the improvement of the public schools was a matter of general interest, these same factors of internal reform came up for consideration.

Among all the factors of educational advance that operated during that period none was more important than the gradation of schools. One can hardly overemphasize the gain that was derived from the classification of pupils according to their age and attainment, from the extension of class instruction, from the adoption of some uniformity in the matter of textbooks, and in the expansion of subject-matter offerings, all of which the policy of gradation made possible. In this narrative the progress toward a graded system of public education has been considered first of all in its important relationship to the development of a unitary system of public schools, which was a unique and outstanding development in American educational and social history. It would be an oversight, however, to overlook the large part which the development of graded schools played in the upward evolution of our school practices. Not a small degree of significance should be attached to the factor of school gradation in the campaign for better school conditions.

The Effort to Provide a More Efficient Teaching Personnel. — In the last analysis, however, the problem of school betterment centered in the improvement of the teachers. James G. Carter and Horace Mann in Massachusetts saw this as a central issue. Henry Barnard in Connecticut realized its importance no less. In short, practically every outstanding leader of education of the thirty years preceding the Civil War recognized it as a necessary condition of school progress that a better prepared and more competent body of teachers had to be created. Indeed, the improvement of the teacher continues to be the main concern of education.

Samuel R. Hall, in the first pedagogical work produced in the United States, *Lectures on School Keeping*, which was published in 1829, deplores the imperfect qualifications of the instructors in the public schools of New England. " A portion of those who engage in teaching," he said, " are such as have received no instruction except what they derived from common schools. Having pursued the studies usual in the schools, and having become so far advanced as to derive but little benefit from attend-


Climbing the Hill of Science
$10 a Month and Board round and chop the wood
I'll give you this piece of cake if you will go to School
TIN WARE
I kept School awhile but its not respectable enough.
No Soundings for feet.

CARTOON

Taken from J. Orville Taylor, *Lectures on Popular Education*, Clement and Packard, New York City, no date (probably about 1840).

ing longer, they are desirous of teaching. The employment is a little more respectable, in their estimation, than manual labor, and they inquire for, and usually find, a backward school. If sufficient success attend their first engagement, to enable them to keep the school the specified time, it is usual for them to continue the employment. Such may perhaps have studied the branches required by law, but have not a thorough knowledge of any. They have 'gone through' arithmetic, while probably scarcely a rule is understood. Scarcely one in a thousand of this class has been able to explain the principles on which the simple rules are founded. Of English grammar their knowledge is equally superficial. . . . The more common rules of syntax they may be able to apply, but other parts of grammar have been almost entirely neglected. Other branches may have been attended to in the same superficial manner."[1]

Mr. Hall identified two other classes of teachers. The first of these had attended an academy for a single season after leaving the common school. The second consisted of the college students who were teaching in order to earn money with which to continue their college studies. These were inefficient because they had paid exclusive attention to classical studies and were ignorant of the common school branches as well as unfamiliar with the conditions of the district school.

The common-school teacher described by Hall was in evidence everywhere throughout the United States. School keeping was for the most part a casual, makeshift, part-time job or the last resource of professional and business incompetence. It was not even a well-defined trade with standards of preparation and fitness, let alone a profession.

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[1] S. R. Hall, *Lectures on School Keeping*, p. 26.

The Normal School. — Under such circumstances it was but natural that the American observers of German, and particularly Prussian, education should be impressed with the success which that country had achieved in creating a well-prepared body of common-schoolmasters. In Prussia they saw the schools manned by teachers thoroughly informed regarding the subject-matter which they were expected to impart, employing good methods of instruction and discipline, and possessed of a high degree of professional zeal. This desirable condition of the teaching personnel had been accomplished, for the most part, within a generation and, it was generally thought, through the agency of the teachers seminaries which had been established in every province.

It is easily possible to make too much of Prussian influence in the establishment of the most important agency adopted in the United States to correct the deplorable condition of its teaching personnel. The idea of a training school for teachers might easily enough have been derived from the example of Pestalozzi in his work at Burgdorf and Yverdon, or from the training schools established in England by the exponents of the monitorial system. Samuel R. Hall established his first private normal school at Concord, Vermont, in 1823 with apparently no foreign example in mind. Equally independent of German or other influence seems to have been the plan of James G. Carter for a teachers seminary as set forth in his *Essays upon Popular Education*, published in 1824–1825. On the other hand, the favorable reports on the Prussian system of teacher training made by Cousin, Stowe, Bache, Mann, and others undoubtedly had a great deal to do with the establishment of the earliest state normal schools and the inauguration of state policies of teacher training in the United States.

The normal school, as established in this country, was clearly enough in imitation of the Prussian practice of educating teachers for the folk schools in special seminaries designed for that work, but the institution itself was distinctively American in its spirit and origins. The Prussian *Lehrerseminar* was specially created for the single purpose of training common-school teachers and was cut off from affiliation with any other grade of education. The American normal school, however, was an adaptation of the academy and thus gained at the outset, or perhaps better, retained throughout its history, its identity as a part of secondary and its affiliations with higher education.

Dr. Walter D. Agnew has shown conclusively that the American normal school was nothing more nor less than an American academy adapted to the objective of training teachers for the common schools.[1] The curriculum was modified so that it consisted principally of reviews or more advanced treatments of the subject-matter to be taught in the common schools, together with some general and professional courses particularly related to teaching intelligence and teaching skill. The chief difference between the new normal school and the old academy lay in the fact that in connection with the former was ordinarily maintained a model school for observation and practice teaching. The general administrative arrangements of the two institutions were almost identical, the rules and regulations for the conduct of students were much the same, and even the catalogues of the normal schools gave every evidence of having been written in close dependence upon some academy announcement. It is not without significance that many normal schools took over the buildings, equipment, and good will of academies which they superseded.

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[1] See Walter D. Agnew, *The Administration of Professional Schools for Teachers*, 62–81.

The first normal school in the United States was a private venture of Samuel R. Hall, who established a school for the instruction of prospective teachers at Concord, Vermont, in 1823. A model school was attached to the academy organization and the curriculum was definitely pointed for the preparation of common-school teachers for their labors. For seventeen years following the opening of the normal school at Concord, Mr. Hall was almost continuously engaged in similar work there and at other places. His second undertaking was a teachers' department established in connection with Phillips Andover Academy. In this department there was a three-year curriculum based upon the completion of a common school course. The first year was devoted to a review and more advanced treatment of such common school subjects as grammar, arithmetic, and geography, with some attention to drawing and bookkeeping. The second year stressed mathematics, including conic sections, and the sciences, with a course in rhetoric. The third year was devoted to the following rather surprising curriculum: natural philosophy, logic, civil engineering, natural theology, evidences of Christianity, moral philosophy, astronomy, political economy, intellectual philosophy, and the art of teaching. A model school was attached.

The first state normal school was established at Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1838, with Cyrus Peirce as its principal. A private gift of $10,000, matched by a contribution of the state legislature, provided the original financial resources of the school, but these being inadequate, Horace Mann, then Secretary of the State Board of Education, sold his law library and added that sum to the fund. The school at Lexington was in a few years transferred to West Newton, and finally in 1853 to Framingham. A second Massachusetts normal school was established at Barre in 1839, which in 1844 reopened at Westfield after a temporary closing, and third at Bridgewater in 1840. In 1844 New York followed the example of Massachusetts and established its first normal school at Albany. Before the outbreak of the Civil War, twelve state normal schools in nine states had been founded.

The First State Normal School in the United States. — The student who wishes to reproduce for himself the conditions which obtained in the early normal schools may well take advantage of Professor A. O. Norton's work, *The First State Normal School in America.*[1] In addition to a thoroughgoing historical introduction and much germane source material, this work contains the day-by-day record of events in the infant institution as set down by the principal, Cyrus Peirce, and by one of his pupils, Mary Swift. These narratives truly reveal a day of small things. When the school at Lexington opened its doors, three young women were the only applicants for admission on the first day. The number of pupils increased to twelve by September ninth, but the largest number in attendance at one time before January 1, 1841, was thirty-four.

The young women who made up the student body were for the most part deficient in their knowledge of the common branches when admitted and ordinarily remained in the school but one year. Most of their time was necessarily devoted to the common school studies and even so the harassed principal was continually lamenting in his journal the slow progress which his pupils were making in grammar, geography, and spelling. According to the same source of information his young ladies showed little interest or proficiency in the higher reaches of mathematics and in the natural sciences, and at times, to their serious-minded principal's great concern, they showed themselves to be less poised, mature, and professional-minded than the subjects of a great social experiment should be. The entry in Peirce's *Journal* for the three combined days of September 17, 18, and 19, 1840 despairingly reveals: "I have nothing very good or interesting to record about the school. To speak candidly, I think I drive or rather *guide*, poorly a dull, heavy team; few in numbers and weak in intellectual strength." And again on November 23, 1839: "This day learned authentically that one of the pupils of the normal course is under matrimonial engagement. The school will not suffer a great loss. Her promise in the profession of teaching not very encouraging."

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[1] A. O. Norton, *The First State Normal School in America; the Journals of Cyrus Peirce and Mary Swift,* Harvard University Press, 1926.

The normal school at Lexington was maintained in a rented building under the sole tuition and management of Principal Peirce. After the first term there was also a model school with about thirty pupils to be superintended. It was the principal's practice to begin the normal school at eight A.M., and remain with the "normalites" until nine. He would then go down to the model school, which occupied the first floor, leaving the normal students to themselves until ten, when they were dismissed for an hour's recess. Meanwhile the principal would be teaching and maintaining order in the model school until eleven. When that hour arrived he dismissed the model school and resumed instruction of the normal students until noon. The afternoon's program was interlocked in the same way, with demands upon the principal for instruction from one to five o'clock. In time Mr. Peirce secured some assistance from his pupils in the management and teaching of the model school, but it was his custom from time to time to take the entire normal class with him to the model school, where he would take full charge of discipline and instruction while the normal students observed his methods. His must have been a busy life, what with acting as general manager of such an institution, receiving many visitors who were interested in the new educational experiment, conducting daily devotional exercises, teaching a dozen or more ill-assorted subjects, some of them of rather advanced grade, and delivering a set weekly lecture on the principles of teaching, to say nothing of the public professional demands in which his position involved him. Is it much to be wondered at that these Saturday lectures seem to have been considerably interrupted by "trips to Boston"?

Professional Courses in the Normal School at Lexington. — In reading Mr. Peirce's *Journal*, the diary of Mary Swift, and his own description of how he proceeded in his effort to give his pupils more adequate conceptions of good teaching and sound discipline, one is impressed with the small amount of what could be called pedagogy that there was in the professional curriculum. Evidently Mr. Peirce's first objective was to secure a thoughtful knowledge of the subject-matter under consideration — to get the student away from parroting repetitions, and to seek for evidence that they had clear conceptions of the principles or meanings involved. As proof of this he demanded of them consecutive and orderly reproduction, in their own language, of the materials of the lessons. At the same time he endeavored to consider the normal school lessons from the viewpoint of how the same materials should be presented to common school classes, and talked over the technique of presentation. "At many of our recitations," he said, "more than half the time is spent with reference to teaching 'the art of teaching.'" This direct effort to consider subject-matter from a professional standpoint was reinforced by his frequent descents into the model school, with all the normal students following him, where he would illustrate the mode of attack upon a lesson in geography or arithmetic and demonstrate his theories of school discipline.

Considerable attention in the normal school course was devoted to psychology and ethics as related to the work of the teacher. Jacob Abbott's *The Teacher* was read and commented on as a class exercise. In addition, on each Saturday for a considerable part of the year, Mr. Peirce gave lectures on the Art of Teaching. These lectures are reported at some length in Miss Swift's diary, and although there are occasional gaps in the series and the last few lectures are not reported at all, the student's report on the teacher's lectures gives us a good notion of the topics presented.

In the first lecture, evidently with the aim of developing professional enthusiasm on the part of his young ladies, Mr. Peirce took up the history of the normal school movement and discussed the expectations which the friends of education in Massachusetts had of the new venture in that state. The second lecture was devoted to the business of the teacher, the objects of teaching, and the trials and pleasures of a teacher's life. The third lecture passed on to a discussion of the motives, qualifications, and responsibilities of the teacher. The fourth lecture elaborated upon the tremendous influence which the teacher must exert either for good or evil, particularly through her inevitable influence in shaping the character of her pupils. The fifth discourse gets down to the more pressing problems of school management and stresses the importance of order. Government and discipline come in for a large amount of attention, being the subject of five lectures, if we include the remarks which Mr. Peirce made on the subject of premiums as a basis of school effort and good conduct. It is in these lectures on school government that the principal is at his best. His talks on this subject contain a great deal of shrewd advice for inexperienced teachers and exhibit an enlightened judgment which would prove useful in any school today. "Decide at the outset," he advised his charges, "whether you will govern by fear of punishment, by force of persuasion, or both, but do not vary the system continually. A government conducted by caprice is no government at all." He found all appeals to fear objectionable because schools ruled by fear develop no self-control in the pupils. Perhaps, he said, the time had not arrived when the rod could be entirely abolished, but the occasions for its use were certainly rare and should be postponed as long as possible. When the rod was used the following rules should be applied: Be sure you have the good of the pupil in view; punish with a feeling of reluctance; punish sparingly; be not in haste, — review the case for mitigating circumstances; do not administer any kind of punishment in anger; be sure it is deserved and if it is possible, convict the culprit of his guilt; never resort to physical punishment when an appeal to anything else will answer as well; and take care it is not too severe.

Mr. Peirce in his lectures on the Art of Teaching was uncompromising in his opposition to the employment of premiums in the school, no less when used as a reward for good lessons than for good conduct. The true basis of effort and self-control was to be found in the legitimate fruits of well-doing. Artificial prizes rewarded ability, not effort, anyhow, and were unending sources of unhappiness and bitterness.

With the eleventh lecture began the discussion of teaching methods. As a general basis for sound educational practice the lecturer set forth the supreme importance of helping pupils to help themselves. The pupil learns nothing when the teacher performs a process for him. He must understand the principle that underlies the process and the chief task of the teacher is, by varying her illustrations and her descriptions, to bring the pupil to understanding such principle. To do this acceptably nothing can take the place for the teacher of an honest and adequate knowledge of the subject which she is trying to impart. She should depend also on the native curiosity of the pupils.

The remaining lectures were devoted to practical suggestions regarding the teaching of the common school branches, with the major emphasis on the teaching of reading. Although Mr. Peirce admitted that he had had little experience in teaching beginners, his sage advice on the subject shows that he was abreast of the best practice of his day. He opposed the teaching of the alphabet until after the child had made considerable progress in reading. Better to begin with familiar conversation about common experiences and make some of the words of this conversation the first to be learned. His method was essentially the combined word and sentence method as used in the German schools of the period (see pp. 202 ff.). He also denounced the teaching of pupils all about labials, vowels, consonants, mutes, and so forth. "Let them put simple words into sentences and read them and see that they read naturally. If you have taught them to read simple sentences without whining, you have done well and the rest will be easy." He opposed the learning of words for spelling out of columns and insisted that they should be taken out of the matter being read and should be reproduced in writing. His interest in correcting the localisms of New England speech, both of pronunciation and enunciation, reminds one of the present-day emphasis upon the development of correct and standard speech as one of the important objectives of common school education.

The report of the diarist on the concluding lectures of the series was interrupted by her illness, and as a result it is incomplete on the teaching of the remaining common school subjects, but she gives some evidence that Mr. Peirce did not treat them as fully nor as systematically as he had treated the subject of reading.

If, from the standpoint of the present-day teachers college with its huge staff of instructors and its multiplication of professional courses, one views the instruction given by Cyrus Peirce in the first state normal school in the United States, the institution appears primitive indeed. Perhaps the sharpest contrast is found in the scantiness of the "education" material and its strictly empirical quality. The main reliance of the instructor in his effort to improve his pupils seems to have been placed on intelligent teaching of subject-matter, with constant reference to its later use in the common schools. The two journals covering the first year of the school reveal a continuous effort on the part of Mr. Peirce to give his pupils command of principles and to give them a concrete, richly illustrated understanding of processes. To this end constant use was made of demonstration in natural philosophy. The blackboard was indefatigably employed. Students were stimulated to thinking by frequent discussions of problems given out in advance and in which they had to participate. Self-expression was fostered by the mode of recitation employed and by means of written exercises. The model school was the frequent scene of demonstrations of principles of discipline and of instruction. Indeed, the Saturday morning lessons out of Jacob Abbot's *The Teacher* and the Saturday lectures by Mr. Peirce, appear much in the light of a summary, a systematic *résumé,* of educational theory and practice which the everyday experiences of the school had exhibited in a form more vital and impressive than any verbal exposition could furnish.

Pre-Civil War Pedagogy. — The examination which has just been made of the resources which Cyrus Peirce employed in the normal school at Lexington prompts the question as to what was the ruling conception of good teaching and school management which obtained during the first generation of the common school revival. When in 1837 Horace Mann accepted appointment as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, he confessed in his diary that he had never read a book on pedagogy in his life. As a means of preparing himself for his new duties he turned to a book by James Simpson on *The Necessity of Public Education* and Maria Edgeworth's *Practical Education.* If he had so desired, however, he might have read with advantage Samuel R. Hall's *Lectures on School Keeping,* which had been published in 1829, or Miss Austin's translation of the report of Victor Cousin on *The State of Public Instruction in Prussia,* which had appeared in New York in 1835. J. Orville Taylor's *District School* had appeared in 1834 and the year following Theodore Dwight, Jr., published *The Schoolmaster's Friend.*

That the revival of interest in better schools and improved methods of teaching called forth a considerable number of works on pedagogy is shown in a list of books for school libraries given in Henry Barnard's *School Architecture,* published in 1848.[1] Here appear *The School and*

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[1] See Henry Barnard, *School Architecture,* pp. 279 ff.

Schoolmaster, by Bishop Alonzo Potter and George B. Emerson; *The Teacher's Manual*, by Thomas H. Palmer; *The Teacher Taught*, by Emerson Davis; *Slate and Blackboard Exercises*, by William A. Alcott; *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, by David P. Page; *The District School as it Was*, by Warren Burton; *Confessions of a Schoolmaster*, by William Alcott; and *The Teacher*, by Jacob Abbott. A collection of quotations from *Locke and Milton on Education* has been published in Boston in 1830. The modified Pestalozzian methods which had been adopted in the English infant schools were available to the American student of education in some half dozen titles, while the educational influence of the great Swiss was further emphasized in a number of books about him or his work or describing the schools of Prussia in which his practices had been so largely adopted.

In discussing means for professional growth on the part of the teachers, David P. Page in his *Theory and Practice of Teaching* named most of the single titles mentioned above as useful, and in addition mentioned *The Common School Journal*, the *Secretary's Report* and the *Lectures* of Horace Mann, the *Connecticut Common School Journal* and the *Journal of the Rhode Island Institute*, by Henry Barnard, the *District School Journal of New York*, edited by Francis Dwight, and the *Lectures of the American Institute of Instruction.*[1]

The predominant influences reflected in these pedagogical writings were the example of the modified Pestalozzianism of the Prussian folk schools and the formalized Pestalozzianism of the English infant schools (see pp. 200 ff. and 259 f.). The first-named was brought forcefully to American attention in the Seventh Annual Report of

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[1] See David P. Page, *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, edition of 1893, pp. 261–262.

Horace Mann as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education and in other reports made by other American observers of German education. The latter influence came definitely through the organization of infant schools in this country and the imitation of the English model of such schools as created by Samuel Wilderspin.

Of the early American works on pedagogy probably the most useful to teachers were Samuel R. Hall's *Lectures on School Keeping* and David P. Page's *Theory and Practice of Teaching*. The sage counsel of these writers is definitely directed to meet the ordinary conditions of American education — that is, of the mixed district school under a single teacher, in which children of all ages were to be instructed. These books reflect primitive educational conditions and are directed toward the improvement of those actual conditions. They devote much attention to the character and qualities of the teacher, to plans for his self-improvement, and to the strategy of success in a local community where the tradition of public education is generally unfavorable. The teacher is advised in detail how to begin the first day of school, how to make a favorable impression on the pupils and patrons, how to arrange his program of school exercises, and how to develop an orderly régime in his schoolroom. Naturally much space is devoted to problems of discipline, — the importance of impartiality and evenness of temper, the bad effects of scolding, the unjustifiability of ridicule and abusive language, the futility of threats, what punishments to use and what not to use, the pros and cons of corporal punishment, and many other such matters which were important pedagogical issues for the teacher of the district school at that time.

The precepts of these early writers on the art of teaching which bear definitely on modes of instruction strongly exhibit the limitations of a school situation in which the almost exclusive business of pupils was learning lessons out of books. School was a place where books were studied and lessons got up to be recited to the teacher, and not even books in a generous and liberal sense, but a single book for each study, assigned piecemeal as the subject of pupil effort and class exercise. The more advanced spirits of the time were seeing the possibilities of music as a means of relief and relaxation for pupils overburdened with book study and cramped with sitting on uncomfortable benches, and the utility of an occasional general exercise in which the entire school could participate with interest under the lead of the teacher was pointed out by David Page. Predominantly, almost exclusively, however, the school of which these early educators wrote was a school of one book for one school subject, and their counsels of improvement were designed to operate within such a learning situation.

The early writers on pedagogy are in substantial agreement regarding the weaknesses and desirable improvements of current instruction. Perhaps the leading evil was rote learning — learning of words without consciousness of their meanings — with all the bad consequences that followed in the train of this initial failure. The ability to pronounce words without knowing their significance led to unnatural, expressionless reading. The learning of rules of arithmetic by heart and the mechanical application of them to the neatly arranged problems in a book kept the pupil without any real comprehension of number relationships and helpless in any situation that called for the independent use of arithmetical concepts. The work in grammar began and ended with the learning of definitions and rules and an altogether haphazard and unintelligent effort to apply them, without giving the pupil any language sense or any power of using his native tongue correctly in speech or written composition. And so on through the whole range of the common school branches the pupil's fidelity in literal reproduction of words was leaving him a blockhead.

Against this unsatisfactory condition of the learning process in the schools, the attack of pedagogical writers was directed in complete unanimity. The words of the book were to be understood. As a fair beginning the teacher should comprehend them fully and exactly for himself, which apparently was a by no means universal condition. Mr. Hall emphasized this obligation upon the teacher because, he said, in the absence of any dictionary in the school, entire reliance for explaining the meaning of words had to be upon the teacher's ability to take its place. Great stress was laid upon more enlightened methods of teaching the beginnings of reading, according to which easy common words, introduced in connection with informal conversations, were to serve as the introduction of the pupil to the mysteries of print, while the prevailing alphabet method was to be thrown into the discard. And not only in reading, but in arithmetic, grammar, geography, and history the meanings underlying words were to be sought and found.

The early pedagogical works abound in examples of pupils altogether mystified by the language of the scientific definitions which their books contained and which they had got by heart as the first step in the learning process. It seems to have been a common enough thing for pupils to have ciphered their way through two or three arithmetics without knowing any of the principles underlying the processes which they performed. Naturally enough, the advice against such a condition was to have the pupils understand the meanings that determined the operations. The teacher was enjoined to illustrate the factors involved, to draw out the pupil, and to make certain that he had mastered not only the process but the principle upon which it was based. As an effective aid to such understanding, the study of " intellectual arithmetic " was advised, using Warren Colburn's book or some other produced in imitation of it. In these works the progress toward understanding the grounds of number was made in very gradual stages and through the employment of small concrete quantities that could be manipulated " in the head " instead of by means of pencil and paper. There was very general enthusiasm over this mode of really mastering arithmetic.

Since the deficiencies and the corresponding counsels of improvement in the remaining subjects follow the same general lines as those recounted for the school work in arithmetic, no further space needs to be occupied in discussing them.

The conviction was general that the chief pedagogical weakness of the schools was the failure of the pupil to grasp *meanings* and so to develop any constructive knowledge upon the basis of which intellectual growth might proceed. Correspondingly the constantly recurring injunction laid upon teachers regarding ways of improveing instruction was to cultivate understanding in their pupils, to put them in possession of meanings, and to do away with rote learning and mechanical repetition as the be-all and end-all of school experience.

It would, however, be unfair to say that the early writers on the art of teaching were exclusively interested in the improvement of the process of getting up lessons in books, for there was a very general acceptance of a broader objective than that. " I would have you guard yourselves against supposing that your whole duty consists in enabling your scholars to acquire a knowledge of the books put into their hands for the purpose of study. That will be but a part, and sometimes the least part, of your duty. It is the subject, not the book, which is more important. The book is the instrument which you are to teach them how to use in order to obtain the knowledge desired. To direct them and to assist them in this and to teach them to exercise their own powers and elicit their own strength is the principal duty of an instructor." These words of Samuel R. Hall are frequently matched in the lectures of Cyrus Peirce delivered before the students of the normal school at Lexington and in the writings of other educational leaders of the period. Perhaps no one, however, stated more effectively than David P. Page the conception of intellectual education as involving a much wider range than the books used in the school and as being primarily concerned with awakening the self-activities of the child. He condemns vigorously the "pouring in" process which was so general in the schools as he knew them and in which the pupil was merely a "passive recipient." Wherever the teacher does not first excite inquiry, first prepare the mind by *waking it up* to a desire to know, and if possible to find out by itself, but proceeds to think for the child and to give him the results before they are desired, or before they have been sought for — he makes the mind of the child a two-gallon jug into which he may pour just two gallons and no more."[1] The more excellent way of teaching he described as a process of "waking-up-mind," which involved teaching many things besides book-studies. He would send the child, by means of judicious stimulation from an appropriate school exercise, to observing nature around him, questioning his parents, examining his own experiences, reading in books for information, and reporting his findings to the school or class.

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[1] See David P. Page, *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, 1893 edition, p. 90.

The failure of the early writers of education to make more of this most enlightened conception of teaching and learning is probably to be attributed to the fact that the circumstances of education were unfavorable to its development. In the absence of libraries, equipment, and materials of instruction, with a very imperfectly prepared body of teachers, without the advantages for specialized instruction which a graded system of schools would furnish, and with a school program already crowded beyond endurance, it is little wonder that small headway was made in a mode of teaching which would operate through giving a child the opportunity of growth in a rich and stimulating environment.

That school procedures were unfavorably affected in that early day by defects of organization and poverty of equipment is indicated by the fact that the segregation of the small children in one school brought about considerable improvement in methods. The ideal of a primary school expressed by Henry Barnard (see pp. 372 f.) found place for considerable play and activity, much of it out-of-doors, for constructive activities, such as drawing, for developmental work through conversation, and for the creation of a sound moral and intellectual atmosphere. Samuel R. Hall's thirteenth lecture on school keeping is directed to " female instructors " in charge of children from three to seven years of age. Here again we find a plea for a freer school environment in which play and work are indistinguishable, where much is made of informal conversation between the teacher and the pupils, and where the interests and activities of the pupils are considerably extended beyond the formal learning which was the exclusive lot of the younger children in the mixed school. To be sure, the program of primary education during this period did not reach the freedom and scope of the kindergarten of a generation later nor of the present-day primary and pre-primary schools. It was based upon the example of the infant schools of Samuel Wilderspin and suffered from excessive devotion to memory work and ordinary school exercises made palatable to the little child (see p. 258). Its central feature was " object-teaching," which meant the drawing out of pupils by the teacher about some common object, such as a bit of glass, a piece of wood, a grain of corn, or a sea shell. The children were encouraged to tell all they knew about the object before them, and what they didn't know the teacher told them. The outcomes were indeed at times startling, for little children of five and six years of age came by this process to speak glibly and accurately about rhomboids, parallelograms, and dicotyledons, and to use such words as oleaginous, translucent, and perpendicular. It was a system that was easily susceptible of mistreatment and overdevelopment, but in its day it served in great measure to free little children from the stupidities of school custom. It introduced a degree of freedom, variety, and activity. It ushered in the conception of school as a pleasant, happy place. It gave the children a chance to respond in normal ways to talk directed to them and to some extent it must have provided a means of natural mental growth.

Object teaching and the general influences coming from the infant school movement and more remotely from the enlightened methods employed with little children in the schools of Prussia, as generally reported by observers, greatly changed and improved the organization and procedures of the primary schools in the generation preceding the Civil War. With the acceleration of the process of grading schools which occurred after that time, the field of possible application of this method was greatly extended. It was taken up by Edward Austin Sheldon, principal of the Oswego Normal School, and rapidly became the best advertised educational procedure in the United States. On its success the normal school movement rode to new and higher levels of popularity and usefulness, while the entire public school profession accepted it as subject of debate and imitation. Further mention of the " Oswego Movement " will be made in a later connection.

Reasons for the Slow Success of the Normal School in the United States. — When one considers the slow progress of the normal school in the United States before the outbreak of the Civil War, one must conclude that the new institution which had been so hopefully heralded had failed to live up altogether to expectations. By 1860 a dozen normal schools in nine states, still doubtful regarding their mission and procedures, were giving instruction to a few hundred students, mostly girls fresh from the district schools. Was this then the instrumentality by means of which common school education was to be reformed?

Certainly the early success of the normal schools in the United States did not parallel the prosperity which the similar institutions in Prussia had enjoyed. There, in a generation, the staffing of the folk schools had undergone a complete transformation due to the infusion into the system of young men trained in the teachers seminaries, while here such improvements in the school situation as had occurred had resulted in only a small degree from the activities of the normal schools. The difference in the operation of the teacher-training institution in the two countries is to be attributed to fundamental differences in the social constitution of the two countries. In Germany the teachers from the folk schools were selected from the laboring or lower middle classes. They were almost all men who found in the work of teaching and the official position which the teaching office gave them an economic security and a social standing superior to those enjoyed by their brothers who continued in such walks of life as their birth and circumstances almost inevitably consigned them to. Under such circumstances candidates for the state training and for the school posts were readily found, and, when trained, were likely to remain for life in their safe, if humble, calling. In this country, on the other hand, there was little stability of social classification. The bright boy of a poor family who became the logical candidate for teacher of a district school might enter upon work without training, and if he proved successful and continued to be ambitious he was altogether unlikely to keep on teaching in the common schools. He might easily enough, through his own unaided efforts, put himself through college, after which higher ranks of education or a profession claimed him. The many business opportunities which opened around the youth of initiative also claimed many who, in a land like France or Germany, might have continued as common school teachers.

As a result the normal schools attracted relatively few men in this early period and they could never guarantee that the men they did receive and train would find life careers in the common schools. The early normal schools very definitely served as part of the secondary school provision of the period and as stepping stones to higher studies, whereas in the European countries there was no connection between the normal schools and higher education (see p. 222). It was only after the principle of school gradation had been generally put into practice and had become the norm of organization for village and city schools that women began to take over the calling of common school-teacher and to supersede the men in that work. At the same time the normal schools found their clientele and began to flourish. The generation following the Civil War for the first time saw the normal schools taking the important place they deserve in a public system of education.

The Teachers' Institute. — The same circumstances that operated against the early success of the normal schools caused the leaders of American education to seek for a more immediate way to improve the staffing of schools. If the teacher could not be prepared in advance, could not something be done to improve him while in service? Might not those imperfect agents of public education operating at low efficiency in the common schools be given a degree of professional enthusiasm, provided with a better knowledge of the subjects they were teaching, and made to think about possible improvement in their methods of instruction and their modes of discipline? The answer to this query regarding the possibility of in-service training of teachers was the organization of teachers' institutes.

The idea of a short-term course for the improvement of teachers was presented to a state educational convention held at Utica, New York, in May, 1837, in a resolution offered by Stephen R. Sweet. The same gentleman in the following fall organized a teachers' institute in Jefferson County, New York, which had at least partial success. Credit for initiating the movement has, however, been generally given to Henry Barnard, who in 1839, while he was Secretary to the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut, outlined a short-term professional school for teachers in service which was essentially the plan of organization later followed for such gatherings. His outline was not acted upon by the Board, so, acting on his personal initiative, he gathered together twenty-six young men teachers of Hartford and provided for them during several weeks a series of educational lectures. The lectures reviewed the subjects taught in the common schools and introduced discussions of methods of teaching and discipline.

The successful organization of the usual type of institute occurred, however, in the state of New York as one of the outcomes of the office of county superintendent of schools which had been created in that state by a law of 1841. Superintendent J. S. Denman of Tompkins County organized an institute at Ithaca, New York, beginning April 4, 1843, which continued in session for two weeks. The new agency had rapid development in the state. Writing in 1844, Horace Mann in his Eighth Annual Report said that during the autumn which had just closed, a large number of institutes had been held in the interior and western part of the state of New York. In the same connection he presented a plea for the imitation by Massachusetts of these useful agencies and recommended a state subvention in encouragement of them in all the counties of Massachusetts. In 1846 the Massachusetts Legislature appropriated $2500 annually for the expenses of institutes, which sum was to be administered by the State Board of Education. When not less than fifty teachers gave the Board reasonable assurance that they desired to assemble in a teachers' institute for a specified period, the Board completed arrangements for the meeting. The Board, through their secretary, would engage teachers and lecturers for each institute, provide rooms, heating, lights, and so forth, and manage a program in the same way that a teacher administered a school.

The example of financial aid given by Massachusetts was followed in New York in 1847, when the Legislature appropriated an annual sum of sixty dollars to defray the expenses of teachers' institutes in each of the several counties of the state. The action of New York and Massachusetts was rapidly imitated in other states, so that in the 'fifties the short-term teachers' institute was a very general feature of American education. The spread of the teachers' institutes occurred at the same time that the office of county superintendent of schools was being established, and usually that official, where provided by the law, was made responsible for their organization and management.

A survey of teachers' institutes in the country at large was made for the United States Bureau of Education by James H. Smart and published as *Circular of Information, No. 2*, in 1885. The figures given in that survey indicate that in twelve states the teachers' institutes were managed directly by the state departments of education, while in eighteen others institutes were being held on a county basis and usually under the management of the county superintendent. A third table indicates that in ninety-six cities of the Union the institute idea had been adapted to the uses of city school systems, where for longer or shorter periods at various intervals the teachers met for professional instruction and for improvement through the exchange of ideas.

In making his plea to the state legislature for aid to teachers' institutes in Massachusetts, Horace Mann described their *modus operandi* as follows:

> In the spring and autumn of the year, those persons, male and female, who propose to keep school, the ensuing season, assemble at some convenient and central place; and not only form classes for mutual improvement, but they employ some distinguished teacher or teachers, to preside over their meetings, and give them instruction. Here they are indoctrinated, not merely in the general principles of school government, the means and modes of order, discipline, classification, motive powers, etc., but they go through the actual drill of classes and routine of the schoolroom. These teachers elect form themselves into classes in all the branches they expect to teach; they study lessons and perform recitations, just as is done in a school. The exercises are interspersed with discussions, and the evening is generally occupied by lectures on some topic connected with the great cause of education. The Institutes hold regular sessions from day to day, usually for a fortnight, though for a longer or shorter period, according to the ability and zeal of the parties.[1]

The educational leaders of the day had great expectations of the educational improvement which would result from these short-term professional gatherings, and probably their nearer view was more just than ours at the present day when the teachers' institute has taken on more of the character of professional entertainment and shows less of educational zeal and hard work than it originally exhibited. In a prize essay on *The Necessity and Mode of Improving the Public Schools of Connecticut*, the Reverend Noah Porter, afterwards President of Yale College, recommended the holding of teachers institutes throughout the state as one of the most useful ways of making the schools more efficient. He said in part:

> Teachers' Institutes may be held throughout the State, and that also, without delay. These are conventions for mutual improvement and excitement. They may be also called traveling teachers' seminaries. These have been held in other states with the most

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[1] *Life and Works of Horace Mann*, III, 429.

striking results. The idea was conceived in Connecticut, years ago, and was tried on a small scale for two years in succession. At a place and time previously agreed upon, the teachers within a given district are invited to be present, to spend a week or more in convention. The time is employed in discussing the best methods of teaching reading, writing, etc., and the various branches, and those whose business it is to teach, receive instruction from eminent and experienced instructors. We noticed in a recent account of one of these Institutes, that a distinguished elocutionist and teacher of reading was present, and gave a course of lessons. We doubt not that every teacher who read with him, or who heard others read, for several days, will read the better all his life, and that the reading in the scores of schools there represented, has received an impulse for the better for the few days spent at that Institute. The same benefit might be looked for from the presence of teachers in simple drawing, writing, and arithmetic. At these meetings, experienced teachers give the results of their various methods, of their many mistakes, and the ways in which they are corrected. Here raw and timid teachers are initiated into their new business; older teachers receive valuable suggestions, which their experience and their sense of want enable them at once to understand and to apply; self-conceited teachers are forced to let go some of their old notions, and to grow wiser as they compare themselves with those who know more than themselves. An enthusiasm in their business is excited. They are impressed with right views of the dignity and solemnity of their employment. They form new and strong attachments, and from these interesting and exciting scenes, they go fresh and cheerful to the labors of the season, furnished with valuable knowledge. These Institutes differ from ordinary conventions, in that they furnish definite business, and are spent in gaining real knowledge. They are not wasted in idle harangues and fine speeches. They continue long enough to lay out much real work, and to accomplish it. They furnish a model for Town Associations, and the teachers who have felt the advantages of these larger meetings continue their influence, by repeating the same thing on a smaller scale.[1]

Whether the full measure of advantage expected of the teachers' institutes was fully realized or not is difficult to say, but that they were universally believed in and developed is shown in the record. It is highly probable, however, that they played a large part in raising the education interest from the low estate in which it rested before 1830 and did much to develop the professional consciousness and efficiency of the teachers of the common schools.

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[1] *American Journal of Education*, XV, 392–393.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. According to Samuel R. Hall's account of the teaching personnel in New England in 1829, had conditions changed much for the better from those of the colonial times? From your personal experience with the common schools can you identify any of the types of teachers Mr. Hall mentioned?

2. Consider the following as a subject for debate: *Resolved:* That the early American normal schools were copied from the teachers seminaries of Prussia. Would you choose to support the affirmative or the negative of the question? What arguments could be advanced on each side?

3. Could it be said that Cyrus Peirce had the conception of "professionalized subject matter" as we hear the phrase used today? What relative emphasis was placed in the Lexington normal school on subject-matter as compared with methods of teaching and professional courses? Compare the offering of professional courses in your own institution with that of the normal school at Lexington.

4. Which of the pedagogical works named in the foregoing chapter are available in your institutional library or in other local collections of books? Would it be of interest to have these books exhibited before the class and to have reports made upon them?

5. What type of school and teacher did the early American writers on pedagogy have in mind? What limitations did this place upon those writers?

6. How did the segregation of the younger pupils give greater opportunity for specialization and adaptation of teaching methods?

7. Compare the social factors affecting the recruitment of teachers in Germany with those in the United States. In what way did this difference affect the success of the normal school idea in the two countries?

8. What professional motives led to the organization of teachers' institutes? Can you explain the enthusiasm of early leaders of

American education for this agency of teacher training? Was their enthusiasm justified?

9. Have teachers' institutes, as you are acquainted with them, improved over, or deteriorated from, their early form? Compare a week that you have spent at a county institute with the program for such a professional gathering as outlined by Horace Mann or Noah Porter.

REFERENCES

E. W. KNIGHT, *Education in the United States*, Chapter XI, contains much interesting information regarding the rise of the normal schools.

The First State Normal School in America, edited by A. O. NORTON and published by the Harvard University Press, contains the journal of Cyrus Peirce and the diary of Mary Swift, frequently referred to in the foregoing chapter.

S. R. HALL, *Lectures on School Keeping*, has recently been reprinted by the Dartmouth Press, Hanover, N. H., A. D. Wright and G. E. Gardner, Editors,

HENRY BARNARD, *Normal Schools*, has recently been reprinted by the Colorado State Teachers College, Greeley, Colorado. This work is an invaluable reference for the early history of the normal school in the United States.

DAVID P. PAGE, *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, is rather generally available in a late edition, published by A. S. Barnes & Co.

CHAPTER XX

IN THE GRIP OF THE SCHOOL MACHINE

The educational history of the United States during the generation following the Civil War is concerned for the most part with school conditions and developments within the towns and cities of the land. Within that period the country school remained much as it had come to be as a result of the revived interest in education which the pre-Civil War generation had experienced. Its curriculum had been expanded to include grammar, geography, and United States history, but it remained a one-teacher school operating under conditions that made impossible more than hurried and superficial treatment of an overcrowded curriculum. Even when its pupils were classified according to the " reader " to which they had progressed, the rapid succession of short recitations tended to make of the school exercises a formal and stumbling repetition of textbook assignments.

During these first thirty years or more following the Civil War, the forms of state educational administration which had developed in the fifth and sixth decades of the nineteenth century continued in operation with only slight change. The state departments of education had not yet undertaken in any large degree the function of educational stimulation and leadership, and the local authorities continued to exercise almost complete control over their little school domains. The small school district continued to be the basis of school administration and support in rural areas, with all that that implies with regard to the possibilities of educational advancement. To be sure, there were exceptions to the general situation in the rural schools as just described, but the picture given above is predominantly true. The new agricultural regions opened up by the questing pioneers in the North and in the West continued to reproduce the educational conditions of the older rural areas of the eastern seaboard states and the Mississippi Valley.

In the cities of the United States, however, whether they lay on the Atlantic Coast or on the Pacific, in the region of the Great Lakes, or at some favored inland trade or manufacturing center, there occurred during this period an organization of the common schools that exhibited almost the invariability of a biological type. For more advantageous administration of education the contiguous school districts forming an urban area were united for educational purposes. A single board of education, frequently composed of an unwieldy number of members as a hold-over of the school district influence, was the responsible administrative agency for the city as a whole. In an undefined relationship to this board was almost always to be found an official designated as the city superintendent of schools who served as its professional guide, business agent, and personnel manager, but whose functions in any of these relationships might at any time be recaptured by the board as a whole or by individual members of the board.

The Typical Graded System. — The presence of large numbers of children of the same school attainments had made possible a grading of children according to units of annual or semi-annual promotion, so that some pattern of school gradation was universally followed. The tendency toward an eight-year elementary school followed by a four-year high school was strong, and by 1890 the typical arrangement of the common city schools of the United States was the so-called 8–4 plan. The elementary schools were taught for the most part by women, who were paid a much lower salary than men, while men were customarily retained as the administrative heads of school buildings housing a number of classes.

The factor of gradation, with each class under a single teacher, gave a great deal more time for the treatment of the stated school studies and even invited the addition of new subjects not in the list indicated by the state laws. The traditional reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic continued alongside the newer subjects, geography, grammar, and United States history. In many elementary schools were to be found also some or many of the following: "object-teaching, singing, drawing, gymnastics, vocal culture, English literature, natural history, physics, history of England, algebra, metric system, physical geography, physiology (including anatomy and hygiene), geometry and mensuration, bookkeeping, astronomy, the German language, Constitution of the United States, sewing and perhaps some others."[1]

The graded system had made possible and had prompted a careful prescription of the work to be done in each grade. In the ungraded school or even in the one-teacher school which was roughly classified, the textbooks were the curriculum and each year saw the various individuals or classes making such progress in the books studied as was possible. Under the graded system, however, it early became the custom for the school authorities to designate much more exactly the work to be done by any given class. At first the courses of study simply named the books to be studied and indicated the number of pages to be covered in a month or a term. Gradually, however, the course of study by textbook paging gave way to one arranged on a topical basis. In many cities the work to be followed by each class was planned in advance in great detail so that the course of study constituted a substantial volume. By the year 1885, when a report on *City School Systems in the United States* was prepared by Mr. John D. Philbrick for the United States Bureau of Education, the preparation of topical courses of study was said by Mr. Philbrick to have become common procedure in the larger cities.

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[1] See John D. Philbrick, *City School Systems in the United States*, U. S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No. 1, 1885, p. 51.

As an example of the city course of study of the 'eighties may be quoted an extract from the Philadelphia syllabus for the highest grade of the elementary school on the subject of general history. The teacher was to guide the pupils during the course of that year through a historical pilgrimage with the following important stops:

1. History of nations of remote antiquity as reading lessons; attention to history of Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Persia, Greece: History of Greece as reading lessons; attention to Argonautic expedition, Trojan war, wars with minor nations; laws of Lycurgus, Draco, Solon; the Persian invasions, Peloponnesian wars, sacred war, Macedonian Empire established, career of Alexander the Great, Achaean League, surrender of Corinth. 2. Rome: History of Rome as a reading lesson . . . and so on through the rise and decline of the Roman Empire, through the Middle Ages, and well into the nineteenth century. The detailed factual organization of the syllabus for the subject of general history is closely paralleled in the sections dealing with language, mathematics, writing and drawing, geography, Constitution of the United States, music, anatomy, physiology and hygiene, and natural philosophy.

During the generation following the Civil War the elementary schools in the larger towns and in the cities of the United States had come to be a highly organized, closely articulated system. For each school year, or in some cases for each half year, a specific range of subject-matter was to be covered by each class. This material was organized in topical form, but withal in fairly close dependence upon available textbooks. The stint to be accomplished by each class each month or term was clearly designated and it was the teacher's business to see that the pupils covered the ground, learned the expected facts, mastered the skills demanded, and were prepared to pass an examination at the close of each academic period for promotion to the next higher class. Written examinations became the very general rule to determine the fitness of the pupils to advance.

The textbook publishers of the period were not behindhand in adapting their business to the demands of the new school machine. They turned out "series" of readers, spellers, arithmetics, and other school books to correspond to the more exact classification of pupils and the expanded demands of instruction. The series of readers began with a primer and progressed through first reader to sixth. Arithmetics were produced in at least three grades of difficulty and in the matter of histories, geographies, and language lessons there was a corresponding effort to produce school works specifically related to the graded demands of the course of study. It is impossible to say whether the activities of textbook publishers preceded or followed the development of grading, but certainly the two factors of graded textbook production and city courses of study went hand in hand and were interdependent.

A third element which entered into the school situation and contributed effectually to the mechanical nature of the school experience was the inadequacy of the teaching personnel. Trained themselves in a school of rote learning and for the most part without any professional training that could hope to correct their imperfect conception of the learning and teaching process, the teachers fell readily enough into the régime of fact cramming and testing. Dependent upon a textbook or prescribed course of study for the subject-matter of their teaching exercises, they readily assumed the passive rôle of hearing lessons recited from a manual or of testing the pupils' ability to reproduce material previously given out by the teachers.

The effect of all the factors surrounding the graded school of the generation following the Civil War was to develop a school machine. In contrast with the school conditions of a generation preceding there was a great deal more material included in the graded course of instruction, but the quality of teaching and learning was improved hardly at all. From the lowest grade to the highest the pupils followed an endless succession of book assignments which they learned out of hand to reproduce on call. The chief end of pupils was to master skills and learn facts as directed by a teacher who in turn was under the automatic control of a printed course of study, a set of textbooks, and the necessity of preparing her class to pass certain examinations on the contents of a specific number of printed pages. From the standpoint of discipline the physical cruelties of the earlier day had to a large degree disappeared, but the control exercised over the pupils was at least negative. The business of the school being what it was, any movement, any conversation, any communication, were out of order. The spirit of control was military and repressive, not constructive and coöperative. Long rows of seats, military evolutions of classes, stated appearances for recitations, with the rest of the school time devoted to narrowly prescribed exercises, had for their moral equivalent being quiet, industrious at assigned tasks, and submissive to the rule of the drill-sergeant in skirts who unflinchingly governed her little kingdom of learn-by-heart-and-recite-by-rote.

The school situation which is here described as having developed in this country in the generation following the Civil War is in large degree with us today. Those of us who are concerned with the improvement of instruction in the common schools can recognize many features of the school described above as the very conditions which need to be changed and improved at the present time. Indeed, the mechanical graded system in which the chief school exercise is learning by heart, and the chief pupil virtue conformity, has been the object of criticism of every movement of reform in instruction and discipline in the United States for the last seventy years.

Many of us can recall the school exercises and the school discipline of our childhood as reproducing the conditions which came into existence with the spread and development of the graded system of common schools. We studied one reader for an entire year. When the book had been read through for the first time, the class turned to and went through it again. If there still remained some weeks of the school year, the same reader was attacked selection by selection according to the choice of the class. The lessons in history were assigned page by page and the recitation consisted of topical recitation upon the assignment or of answers to mechanical questions upon the text. At times the method followed was to have John begin, and Mary to follow and Jane to take up where Mary left off, and so on until the lesson assigned for the day had been covered and the class was dismissed. Meanwhile the teacher was acting as impartial umpire between the pupils and the textbook which lay open before her. The study of geography was especially adapted to the ask-me-another technique. A half page of map questions would be assigned and the answers ferreted out by the pupils. The teacher during the process of recitation would ask the questions found in the book and hear the answers, sometimes conflicting, from the pupils. When the list of questions was exhausted the recitation was at an end, and the rest of the page would be assigned for the next time. And what areas of paper and blackboard were covered with diagraming! What hours were consumed by the parsing of words and the oral analysis of sentences!

A Famous School Examination. — A well-known exposure of the mechanical and superficial character of the current school instruction occurred in the schools of Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1873 and brought about changes in the school system of that city which took the name of the "Quincy New Departure." At that time the School Committee, of which Charles Francis Adams was a member, took the annual examination out of the hands of the teacher. Previously the examination had been managed by the teacher, who had "conducted the exercise over safe and familiar ground to a triumphant conclusion," but when the members of the board examined the pupils they found a deplorable situation. "Among other things, for instance, it was found that the A and B grammar scholars throughout the town could parse and construe sentences and point out the various parts of speech with great facility, repeating correctly and with readiness the rules of grammar in each case; yet when called upon to write an ordinary letter they were utterly unable to apply the rules and principles they had so painfully learned or to form single sentences or to follow any rule of composition. So, also, as respects reading. Rote reading, so to speak, that is, the practiced reading of certain familiar pieces in given Readers, had been brought to a point of very considerable perfection. If the examination was not carried too far, the classes could be shown off to great advantage. Where the severer test of sight reading, that is, the reading of an ordinary book which the scholar had never seen before it was put by the examiner into his hands — when this test was applied, the result was simply bewildering. The greater part of the scholars could merely stammer and bungle along, much as a better educated person does when reading a book in some language with which he is only imperfectly acquainted." [1]

The conclusion of the School Committee was, in the words of Mr. Adams, that " the school system had fallen into a rut. A great multiplicity of school studies had in one way and another been introduced, and each was taught by itself. The ever present object in the teacher's mind was to pass a creditable examination ; and, to insure this, he unconsciously turned his scholars into parrots and made a meaningless farce of education. Certain motions had to be gone through with ; for real results he cared nothing. It was, in a word, all smatter, veneering, and cram."

Naturally our principal professional interest lies in what the School Committee did about the situation which they had so dramatically discovered and which Mr. Adams so effectively has described. It may be said here that under the leadership of Col. Francis W. Parker, whom the School Committee employed as city school superintendent, the changes brought about in the schools of Quincy represent one of the important progressive forces that have operated toward the improvement of education in the country at large. Since, however, the work of Colonel Parker at Quincy was followed by positions of greater responsibility and by more matured embodiment of his educational theories, it seems best to postpone treatment of the " New Departure " until in a later connection his contribution may be viewed in more adequate perspective. Our immediate interest lies in the fact that the school committee of Quincy had put its finger upon the besetting weaknesses of the school systems that were developing in the towns and cities of the United States. The most generous public provision of education that any land had ever made for the children of all the people was failing of its purpose because of inner weakness. The instruction that was to create effective, thoughtful citizens was revealed as bookish, mechanical, unrelated to life. The school was shown to be deficient in the elements of pupil initiative, thoughtfulness, and rational self-control.

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[1] See Charles Francis Adams, *The New Departure in the Common Schools of Quincy*, Boston, 1881, pp. 32–33.

The discovery made at Quincy could not have been, to be sure, a surprise to more thoughtful students of education of that day, and it is a discovery which each succeeding generation of educational leaders has made anew. Indeed, the characteristics of the school system of Quincy before the New Departure continue with us in great measure to the present, and their elimination and improvement have been and are the principal objectives of educational reform. Let us now turn to observe the successive proposals which have been put forward in the United States from the Civil War to the present in an effort to provide a school that may serve adequately its social purpose.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What characteristic forms of state and local school administration continued to operate without much development for the generation following the Civil War?

2. What elements of uniformity characterized the school systems of the American cities during the same period?

3. Is there any great difference between following a course of study such as the one quoted on p. 425 and following a textbook? Discuss in detail.

4. Describe the "school machine" which developed in connection with the perfected grading of pupils. Do you know of any school machines that continue in existence?

5. What was the quality of learning which tended to become the rule in such a system? Would it measure up to the ideals of education expressed by Rousseau and Pestalozzi? In what respects, if any, would it run counter to those ideals?

6. Describe the school examination which took place in Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1873. What defects of teaching and learning were responsible for the poor showing which the pupils made?

REFERENCES

JOHN D. PHILBRICK, *City School Systems in the United States*, United States Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 1, 1885, is the best available account of educational practices in the cities of the United States during the generation following the Civil War.

The article by CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS on the *New Departure in the Common Schools of Quincy*, is given in the volume of the McGraw-Hill Education Classics, entitled *Francis Wayland Parker*.

Chapter XXI

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT AND PRACTICE SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

To many it may seem odd and perhaps unjustifiable to recall, under the caption of progressive educational thought and practice, a succession of school reform movements that had their day during the final third of the last century. Some of these movements seem to belong so entirely to the past that to think of them as at one time representing the progressive factor, the growing edge of educational thought and practice, seems quite out of place. However, if they are not to be classified as mere historical curiosities they must be considered for what they were at the time of their greatest vitality, namely, the then current expression of dissatisfaction with the existing school procedures and the promise of better modes of teaching and learning.

There is, too, a very real reason why the student of recent educational history should be familiar with the reform movements which we shall pass on to consider. Each of those movements contained elements of validity and made a contribution to the developing conception of what constituted a good school. In connection with each of them was some element of weakness which it has been necessary to criticize away and to depart from, but the sound aspects of each have not in any sense been lost. They have, on the contrary, been carried on and now constitute important aspects of a comprehensive theory and practice of education.

1. OBJECT-TEACHING

Of the reform movements which have successively held the stage of American education since the Civil War, the first to deserve mention is usually named as Object-Teaching. As a method of instruction this program was not new when it was given renewed life and impetus through the enthusiasm and administrative gifts of Dr. Edward A. Sheldon, the principal of the Oswego Normal School. As has been said in an earlier connection (see p. 412), the English adaptation of the methods of Pestalozzi, which Dr. Sheldon so effectively exploited, had been known in the United States for many years before the founding of the Oswego Normal School. The manuals of the English Home and Colonial Infant School Society had been advertised in American educational magazines and the methods and materials of the infant school had been in use in many cities long before the Civil War. When Dr. Sheldon made his first discovery of the infant school procedures, however, he saw in them the one thing needful in American education at the time and organized a campaign for their reception and use which made object-teaching the livest issue in professional education circles between 1861 and 1880 or later.

Enough has been said in this volume about the educational views of Pestalozzi, upon which object-teaching was based, to make it unnecessary to open them up as a new subject. We have seen how his theories and practices contributed greatly to the improvement of the elementary school in many European countries during the first half of the nineteenth century and also served as the foundation of the best educational thought and practice in the United

States during the same period. It has also been pointed out (see pp. 196 f.) that Pestalozzi's practices tended to fall short of his theories and in some cases eventuated in extremely mechanical and superficial school procedures. Unfortunately it was the latter aspect of the work of the great Swiss leader that was most manifest in the methods of the Home and Colonial School Society and in the type of teaching fostered in the Oswego Normal School. The questions that we are most interested in asking are: what was the method to which the name object-teaching was applied? what did it offer in the way of improvement to the American schools? and just what practical influence did it exert upon school procedures in the United States?

In the first place it is clear that the system of object-teaching promised improvement in the teaching in the lower grades of the elementary school. Instead of the narrow, mechanical memoriter bookwork which little children were customarily called on to do, it offered a system of instruction which greatly broadened the range of the pupil's experiences, introduced a degree of activity into his school day, brought him into contact with real things, stimulated his intelligence through a question and answer method, and called upon him for constructive oral reproduction of the experiences which the school exercises furnished him. For the very limited range provided in a stated number of lessons in reading, writing, and arithmetic was substituted a rich program of objective experiences of color, form, size, weight, place, number, sounds, the human body, animals, plants, and common objects. In connection with the object lessons there was a great deal of incidental language instruction, and a place was found for the inculcation of moral attitudes through stories. In other words, in the lower grades of the elementary school the stiff and scanty program of lessons in reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic was discarded, and for it was substituted a school experience, graded to the attainments of the pupils, that was more varied, richer, and more stimulating.

One can reproduce the scene of an object lesson with a teacher standing before a class of seven- or eight-year-old children with a piece of writing paper in her hand. In an intimate conversational tone she draws out of the members of the class such information as they possess concerning paper. Of course, in answer to her question they can identify it as paper and call it by name. But when asked where paper comes from, they do not know. Does it grow upon any plant? Does it come from any animal? How do we get it then? By this time the class is ready for some information which the teacher supplies: it is made by man. But what out of? Out of rags. The best paper is made out of linen rags. But what is linen? Of what is it made? Then follows business of showing flax or a picture of flax. Now the class is ready for the first summary of the running fire of question, comment and answer: Paper is made of rags; the finest paper is made of linen rags; " linen is made from the fibrous stem of a plant called flax." Perhaps that is enough of paper for one day with that class, but this beginning will be followed up with more group attention to the piece of paper under the lead of the teacher. When that " object " has been exhausted as a source of lessons, the children will have learned, in addition to what was summarized above, that paper is white, translucent, pliable, smooth, thin, light, and easily torn; that it is inflammable and useful to write upon.[1]

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[1] This lesson is reproduced with changes and omissions from E. A. Sheldon, *A Manual of Elementary Instruction*, pp. 18–19.

Material of the same general sort, comprising a wide range of objective experiences, was provided in organized form to cover three or four years of school work. In connection with the object lessons moral stories were introduced and the school skills which the child was expected to master were imparted.

The claims made for the method were that it observed the natural order of the development of the child's faculties; that it created active interest and participation on the part of the child; that it provided a pleasing variety of experience for the pupil; and that by its means the materials of instruction were presented in such order that they built up the child's experience naturally and soundly. Whether or not it did all these things that were claimed for it, it at least must have been more enjoyable to the pupil and must have engaged his attention more completely than the ordinary methods and materials of instruction.

The limitations of the work are also easily apparent. The range of pupil initiative was very narrow. The teacher led the pupil on a very short string. The contributions made by the pupil were relatively slight compared with what the teacher gave, and his so-called activity was for the most part imitative. Another deficiency lay in the choice of materials. The lessons were about one thing and then about another, but there was no pattern of thought, no continuity in the lessons, except as this appeared in the recurrence of words previously learned or the recall of facts that had been mastered in an earlier lesson. The children could be employed about paper, lead, flavors, glass, or anything else, but why just those things at those times? The pattern of the experience chosen for attention was a one-day pattern and the reason for choosing a given experience was because it was in the manual for the day's work. There was something stilted and arbitrary about the choice of materials of instruction, as well as something casual and sterile.

Still another weakness of the system lay in the fact that it tended to verbalism and bookishness in spite of the fact that the lessons started with objective experiences. The main end of the lessons could easily appear to be the learning of a list of hard words, like acrid, alkaline, brackish, sapid, insipid, astringent, pungent, aromatic, and nauseous, or like ductile, malleable, tenacious, and sonorous; or preservative, aromatic, medicinal, emollient, and amorphous. Children could be taught such things and with every show of interest on their part, but why? When we sum up the improvements in the elementary school which object teaching introduced, discount the unrealized claims of its propagandists, and subtract its elements of deficiency, one is inclined to wonder why for twenty years and more the system had such tremendous vogue. For it is true that between 1861 and 1880, it was the most-talked-of conception of method in elementary education. It was put into operation in towns and cities all over the United States. It was praised in the annual reports of state superintendents of public instruction. It occupied the members of state and national conventions of educators. Perhaps the words of Colonel Francis Parker addressed to Dr. Sheldon on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Oswego Normal School must be discounted as an expression of courtesy, but they were emphatic. "I place the Oswego Normal School as first in its influence upon education in this country," and again, "You were led by Divine love in your heart to do something for the poor children of Oswego; the result is that you have touched every child in America."[1] Why was object teaching, in spite of its obvious deficiencies, accepted so enthusiastically in the United States?

The first answer to this question is, because it was a much better system of instruction for the lower grades of the elementary schools than the one it was intended to displace. The second answer is that it caught on so rapidly because it was definite. Its sponsors had a very specific program. The materials of instruction were given in order in a book. The objects to be used, the ideas to be developed, the words to be learned, the moral attitudes to be inculcated, were set forth plainly and in order for the teacher to follow. Besides, the normal school at Oswego was organized in such a way that a pupil could go there, learn the theory, learn the factual material to be employed, and be practiced in the art of object-teaching until she had mastered it. She was then in a position to go out to another normal school and teach others the same things that she had learned. Here then was a system of elementary teaching, by general consent acknowledged to be admirable, which was definite, which could be acquired in a short time, which called for no very special ability, and which had a good cash value in terms of professional employment.

A third and by no means negligible factor in the vogue of object-teaching was the very considerable ability of Dr. Edward A. Sheldon as a publicity agent. The normal school at Oswego had hardly got under way before Dr. Sheldon had a committee of fourteen prominent educators visit the school. The visit resulted in a favorable report and a series of resolutions. Within two years of the founding of the normal school, Dr. Sheldon read a paper on object-teaching before the convention of the National Teachers Association, had his paper reported in full in the *Chicago Tribune,* and presented before the Association a series of resolutions which set forth the main principles of object-teaching. He was also fortunate in arousing just enough opposition to provide good advertising. A certain Dr. Wilbur assailed the method before the New York State Teachers Association in 1862 and again before the National Teachers Association in 1864. Both of these attacks called for investigating committees. The committee of the National Teachers Association reported strongly in favor of the Oswego system and a demonstration lesson showing how object-teaching was conducted was put on before the entire association at the Harrisburg meeting in 1860. All of which represented a good revival of an educational method that had been in use both in England and in this country for years before Dr. Sheldon learned about it.

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[1] See Ned H. Dearborn, *The Oswego Movement in American Education*, pp. 96–97.

As a result of the substantial elements of school improvement which the method offered and the skillful publicity work of Dr. Sheldon, attendance at the Oswego Normal rapidly increased, and its graduates were in demand all over the country both as primary teachers in towns and cities and as normal school instructors to carry the method into new teacher training centers. The whole teacher training movement in this country took on a new lease of life when object-teaching provided the normal schools with a specific professional objective and a definitely prescribed set of ways and means of attaining that objective.

To summarize the effects of the object-teaching movement upon the school machine which had taken possession of education in American towns and cities, one may say that it provided an expanded, more varied curriculum and that it introduced a certain degree of pupil activity and participation which had been lacking. Its emphasis on drawing, its utilization of the story, its stimulation of pupil responses and thoughtfulness, all contributed toward a more enlightened school régime. Its chief weakness, outside of the large discrepancy between its promise and its performance, lay in its besetting tendency to become mechanical and formal in turn — to become just a new book-subject like reading, spelling, and arithmetic.

2. The Influence of Friedrich Froebel

Among all the forces that tended to modify the mechanical character of the elementary school in the United States none has been more influential than the educational philosophy of Friedrich Froebel, best known as the creator of the kindergarten. Froebel's theory of education and the institution which most completely embodied that theory were brought to this country by liberal Germans fleeing the reactionary political developments in their home land which followed upon the collapse of the Revolution of 1848. Some nine kindergartens were established by these *émigrés* in various parts of the country during the 'fifties and 'sixties. Still another had been established in Boston by Miss Elizabeth Peabody, whose adherence to the transcendentalist philosophy of Ralph Waldo Emerson and other New England thinkers had prepared her for the acceptance of an educational philosophy likewise transcendental and idealistic.

The decade following 1870 saw a considerable increase in the number of kindergartens in this country, which was undoubtedly stimulated by the exhibit of kindergarten materials and methods prepared for the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. In 1873 the first kindergarten connected with a public school system was opened under the leadership of Susan E. Blow in St. Louis, where Dr. William T. Harris was the superintendent of schools. His intellectual affiliations were with the idealistic school and he was always a strong proponent of the educational views and practices of Froebel. Miss Nina C. Vandewalker is authority for the statement that by 1880 there were four hundred kindergartens in all parts of the United States. In ten large cities kindergarten training schools had been established and in many smaller places there existed facilities for the training of kindergarten teachers.[1]

The next decade saw a great multiplication of kindergartens mainly through associations organized in a philanthropic spirit for the improvement of the living conditions of young children in the worse sections of cities. Such institutions were also established by churches as mission enterprises and were developed in connection with social settlements. The Women's Christian Temperance Union established a great many kindergartens as adjuncts in its war upon intemperance. It was not, however, until the last decade of the century that the kindergarten began in any numbers to be provided at public expense as a part of the public system of education. In his report of 1897–1898 the United States Commissioner of Education reported 189 cities as maintaining public kindergartens.

Froebel's Philosophy. — When one considers the facts conveyed in the brief sketch preceding of the slow progress of the kindergarten in the United States and reflects that in the 'nineties the kindergarten began to undergo a process of thorough reconstruction, the question is raised as to whether after all the kindergarten could have had so much influence upon the elementary school as it is generally said to have had. To answer this question it is necessary to examine more closely the educational teachings of Froebel. The general philosophical viewpoint from which Froebel constructed his educational theory, namely, that of absolute idealism, was never accepted to any great extent in the United States. A few of the leaders of the kindergarten movement doubtless participated in the philosophy of their leader and hero, but to most teachers then and now absolute idealism was and is a little-comprehended phrase. And yet to understand the theory underlying the kindergarten it is essential to have at least an inkling as to what absolute idealism is.

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[1] See Nina C. Vandewalker, *The Kindergarten in American Education*, p. 23.

If one may take the liberty of trying to illustrate anything so tremendous as absolute idealism, let us think of a man who has an idea in his mind — to be more specific, a man living in France before the Revolution who has an idea of a certain system of government. He writes out his idea and causes other men to share it with him. They set in operation certain forces that lead to the overthrow of the existing government and the establishment of a new one, which is no other than the original idea or plan come into real existence. At first this government is just on paper, — a constitution, — but later on elections are held, positions are filled, real persons take the place of blank paper functions. Then the legislative body begins to pass laws, taxes begin to be collected, armies are mobilized, navies are put upon the seas, the courts begin to function — and behold the idea which once was only in a man's mind has become an actual going concern.

In some ways the philosophy of absolute idealism resembles the example except that the idea, which was at the beginning, was thought to embrace all of reality, — everything that ever has come into existence or ever will come into existence. The original idea is the seed of the universe, and all that the universe has ever been, all that it now is, all that it ever will be, represent no more nor less than aspects or stages of the necessary but willed development of the idea. The physical universe of suns and stars, the geological processes of the earth, the myriad evolution of plant and animal life, and the social universe in all its stages of development, from the most primitive tribes to the most advanced civilization and in all the individuals which make up tribe or labor union or nation — all these are but aspects of the developing idea, necessary to its purposes and representative of them.

The particular type of absolute idealism which Froebel adhered to — for singularly enough there are many types of absolute idealism — held that the physical world and the human or social world represented parallel modes of self-expression for the absolute idea, — the same story told in two languages and each reflecting the absolute. It was for this reason that Froebel was constantly counting on the mute assistance of physical things in the processes of education. They *symbolized* this and that; they *adumbrated* this meaning and that; so he counted on educational effects from mere handling of spheres and cubes and such things which the ordinary person uninitiated into the mysteries would never expect.

The philosophy of idealism recognized in human beings the emergence of the Absolute into the realm of self-conscious morality. All the morality that exists in the universe exists through the human beings in whom alone the Absolute exists as a moral being. The Absolute is dependent on human beings as the instruments through which it realizes its moral nature and moral purposes, but on the other hand the human beings are not puppets, manipulated on invisible strings, but are independent moral agents making their own choices, which in turn are the moral choices of the Absolute. Every man is at one and the same time an independent moral being and the agent and spokesman of the Absolute. Just as certain plants propagate themselves by means of stolons sent underground, which come up as new and small editions of their own nature, just so all human beings are connected in some invisible way with the Absolute. They participate in its nature and serve as its means of self-expression.

Froebel's Conception of the Child. — The implications of this philosophical theory for education are easily seen. Since the child is the offspring of the Absolute, he is endowed at birth with a set of tendencies which, if allowed to follow their natural course of development, would bring him to his preordained and perfect maturity. The process of education is simply a maturing or growth of inner tendencies, which naturally lay hold of the objective experiences of which they have need. Accordingly the first principle of education is to give the child the opportunity to grow according to the inner laws of his nature. The main business of the teacher is to ward off forces or experiences that hinder, or retard, or divert the operation of the child's inner forces of growth, and, perhaps, to lend the Absolute a hand now and then in providing the materials for the child's purposes which do not happen to be present.

But, it may be suggested, if the child is so perfect and bound to develop in a certain way, why is there any need of a teacher? If the Absolute can do so much, can it not do just a little more and dispense with the school and teacher altogether? Or if the results of a child's development appear to the non-prejudiced bystander as being rather unsatisfactory, who is to say that the wrong result is not the right result after all and just what the Absolute intended all along? Such difficulties are bound to suggest themselves and, indeed, they reflect the unproved, speculative assumptions which lie at the basis of the philosophical outlook of idealism in general. Many of the weaknesses of the original kindergarten theory and practice are directly traceable to their dependence upon a system of speculative metaphysics, the spirit of which it is difficult in this day to recover. On the other hand, the idealistic basis of the kindergarten theory was contributory to its revolutionary departure from customary forms of education.

In thinking of the individual child as a part of the universal onward movement of the Absolute toward self-realization and as constructively participating in this evolution, Froebel was led to several important positions. In the first place, he was bound to think of the child in a positive instead of a negative way. The child is good, being God in the small. Its original tendencies are sound. Its original nature, if not interfered with, will find its own way to a worthy maturity. The child also contains within itself irrepressible tendencies to grow, to expand, to develop, to master its environment, to enter into relationships with its fellows. These inner forces of growth are the essential factors in education. Books, teachers, things, are only apparatus assisting in that growth, — important to be sure, but by all odds of secondary importance. The child, equipped as co-worker with the Absolute for the business of self-realization, is the central concern in the educative process. The chief principle of education is to provide working materials appropriate to the child's inborn urge to do, and a human environment in which his tendency to become a socialized individual may meet with encouragement.

The Kindergarten. — It was but logical that Froebel should recognize the significance for education of the early years of childhood. The process of development necessarily began in the home and it was of first importance that mothers and nurses should enter into the child's processes of growth and provide a favorable environment for the child's self-development. When the child was old enough to associate freely with other children, he should enter the kindergarten until he came of school age. The kindergarten, as Froebel organized it, was a selected environment upon which and within which the nature of children might operate. It was primarily a place where children "played," which to Froebel meant the overt expression of their inborn tendencies toward activity. Here they prepared and tended little plots of garden, sang songs, played song games, ball games, action games, marched to command, heard stories and told them in turn, gave dramatic representations of an action tale, drew pictures, spread color, laid patterns with sticks or peas or pebbles, molded clay, cut cardboard, folded paper, pricked out patterns, wove mats, pasted pictures on cardboard, and built structures out of blocks. The spirit of the kindergarten was happy, spontaneous, serious. It was a miniature society in which the teacher was only a more able and experienced member. The rules of order were those of courtesy and helpfulness — the description of what it meant to be a good friend and a helpful neighbor. The motive power for this very active, purposeful little society was furnished by the children's native tendencies toward the activities engaged in, their intellectual curiosity, and their natural desire to fit into the group life. Such attention as was given to counting, number relationships, and language arts was incidental to actual experiences with things and actual uses of language. The strictly academic activities were definitely subordinate.

It is easy to see that this was an entirely new kind of school, if school it could be called. The kindergarten was not, as we all know from earlier acquaintance with the infant school movement in England and the United States, the first effort to provide for the education and care of children of less than school age. But in the earlier efforts the infant school had been in large degree a school of the ordinary type scaled down in its expectations to what younger children could learn. It was organized as much with reference to the relief of working mothers as to the care of young children. The kindergarten, however, was organized as an institution primarily intended for the appropriate education of children of preschool age, and it gave an example of a kind of education that was startlingly different from that provided in any other school in existence. And quite irrespective of its theoretical foundations, the example of a freer, more natural, more reasonable type of school which the kindergarten supplied, represented a new educational quantity that was bound to exert a powerful influence in the improvement of education.

The Kindergarten Cult. — There were, however, some factors connected with the kindergarten which for long delayed the full operation of its influence upon the elementary school. For thirty years after its first introduction into this country the kindergarten remained a special cult — a thing apart from the ordinary school. This was largely owing to the metaphysical elements that entered into kindergarten theory and practice. These Froebel had systematically woven into its most minute details. The very materials which the children worked with — the so-called " gifts " — and the activities in which they engaged — the " occupations " — were definitely specified as being so many and no other. They had to be presented to the child in a given order, else the appropriate and necessary development of its nature would be interfered with. Over and above the ordinary significance of the kindergarten activities as seen by the profane observer, was a mystical, a symbolic meaning which only the initiates could comprehend. The circle into which the children were formed for story telling or other group exercises was not simply the most efficient arrangement that could be made; it was the symbol of the unity that bound each child into spiritual relationship with the rest and which linked up each individual in that little company with the Absolute. Each child in his daily participation in the activities of this mystic ring was thereby, in an indescribable way, through a process of " adumbration " gaining a sense of his unity with God. The second of the gifts, consisting of a sphere, a cube, and a cylinder, all of wood, was interpreted to represent to the child the whole of reality and his relationship to the Absolute. The sphere was the perfect symbol of unity. From it the child, by a process of spiritual osmosis, drew into his being a sense of the unity of all things. The cube, with its sharp corners and its lines, symbolized individuality — the foil or opposite of unity. Through handling the cube the child gained a sense of himself as an individual, different from the whole of things. The cylinder, participating with respect to its curved surfaces in the nature of the sphere and in respect to its lines and surfaces in the nature of the cube, was the symbol of the reconciliation of these opposites, unity and individuality, and gave to the individual a solution to the great mystery of his relationship to the Absolute. He was a part of unity and yet an individual; he was an individual, but yet an organic and indivisible part of the whole of reality.

This mysticism was further brought out in Froebel's description of the original nature of children. A child was not constructive, or curious, or coöperative just on a basis of biological endowment, and his activities were not limited to the control of his immediate environment. These activities were spiritual in origin, reflected the origin of the child in the Absolute, and were means whereby the child might reëstablish his unity with the Absolute. Curiosity is not something which a child has in common with a cat; it is a sort of homing instinct for the Absolute. "An indefinable longing urges (the child) to seek the things of nature, the hidden objects, plants, and flowers . . . ; for a constant presentiment assures him that the things that satisfy the longing of the heart cannot be found on the surface; out of the depth and darkness must they be brought forth. Educators not only neglect at an early period to nurture this longing, but, unfortunately, they disturb at too early a period even the boy's effort to nourish it from his own resources. For the boy of this age, who has been led naturally, however feebly and unconsciously, seeks, in fact, only the unity that unites all things, the absolute living Unity, the source of all things — God."[1]

During his lifetime Froebel arranged the kindergarten procedures with great exactness, and after his death his followers preserved them without change. With a religious veneration the materials and activities of the kindergarten were continued in the bustling American city of the 'eighties and 'nineties just as they had been instituted by Froebel in the little Thuringian village before the middle of the century. Probably not one in a hundred of the kindergarten practitioners in the United States after 1880 understood Froebel's philosophy, but they kept on saying his words as devotees might continue to repeat sacred phrases whose meanings they could not comprehend, but which had great virtue nevertheless.

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[1] F. Froebel, *The Education of Man*, p. 126.

The kindergarten remained for long a separate institution unable to merge itself into the elementary school partly because of these metaphysical elements that were so intimately a part of its theory and procedures, partly also because of an exaggerated sensitiveness that existed between the kindergartner and the grade teacher. The kindergartner was the exponent of a superior type of education and she admitted it freely. The grade teacher, on the other hand, had her doubts of this because the children who came to her from the kindergarten were "spoiled" for the realities of the schoolroom. The kindergarten was a place for play; the school was a place for work; and the children who had had so delightful a time in the kindergarten for a year or two were bored and oppressed and rebellious at the unattractive and unexciting round of the elementary school day. The kindergartner retorted that the trouble was with the school and the teacher.

For the acceptance on the part of the elementary school of the great gifts which the kindergarten had to bestow, it was essential that the kindergarten as a cult, as a peculiar institution devoted to the faithful reproduction of the Froebelian theory and practice, should be destroyed. To become available in the elementary school the inspired features of the kindergarten had to be given a new psychological and sociological foundation which could furnish a unified basis for educational procedure whether dealing with children of five years of age or seven. And this is substantially what occurred in the last decade of the nineteenth century through the efforts of such psychologists as G. Stanley Hall and John Dewey and the practical coöperation of such kindergarten specialists as Miss Patty Hill and Miss Alice Temple.

3. Industrial Education

In estimating the forces that have contributed toward the amelioration of the excessively bookish and memoriter character which the graded school system of the United States had assumed in the generation following the Civil War, a high place must be assigned to the movement known as industrial education. This name is altogether unsatisfactory, since the term "industrial education" is now taken with almost unanimous consent to designate that type of vocational education which prepares for employment in some branch or other of elaborative industry. When the name was first used in the 'seventies and 'eighties, it applied to almost any kind of work with tools and materials which was to be found in the schools. In its beginnings it was not clear as to whether the hand work done in the schools was intended to prepare pupils for more advantageous employment in industry or whether it was a phase of a comprehensive, general education. Certainly the vocational preparation which it furnished was not highly specialized.

Gradually, however, two groups appeared in the field, one of which desired industrial education to be more definitely directed toward vocational ends and the other of which professed to have no interest whatever in increasing the child's earning capacity but was entirely concerned with giving him opportunities to work with tools and materials as a necessary aspect of a sound school experience. The first-named tendency has developed into industrial education in the more specific vocational sense, while the latter appears today in the schools under the heading of industrial arts or in the informal constructive activities in which pupils engage.

Manual Training. — One stream of origin of the constructive factor in the common school curriculum came into American education out of the Imperial Technical School of Moscow, Russia. An exhibit of the tool work done in that institution was shown at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 and it was immediately advocated in the United States as of great importance in the training of mechanical engineers. The higher technological institutions had been compelled to secure practical knowledge of tools and tool processes for their students by means of apprenticeship in shops, but this method took too much of the students' time and was withal rather ineffective. The new Russian system taught by means of school exercises the use of tools, and the method was welcomed by technological institutions as meeting a long-felt need. The system was also susceptible of application on the high school level, where it was thought of as furnishing a general preparation in the use of tools which could be of use in industrial pursuits. The first high school organized to give instruction in the so-called manual training was the St. Louis Manual Training School opened in 1879 under the direction of Calvin M. Woodward. The example of St. Louis was followed in a number of other cities, of which Baltimore was the first to establish a manual training school as part of the public school system in 1883–1884.

The educational theory underlying these early manual training schools was mixed. The demands of industry for better trained mechanics gained support for the movement from business interests, because it was said and generally believed that the training which the system gave in the use of tools constituted good preparation for industrial employment. In addition to this vocational motive, the professional educator saw in the work with tools and materials important adjuncts of a good school education. Such work brought into play constructive and creative activities which were lacking in the ordinary school. It had important bearings on a number of school subjects, such as arithmetic, geometry, and scientific studies. It was thought to have important moral advantages which the book curriculum did not possess. "Teach a boy to make a square corner and you have helped him to become a 'square' boy." But whatever the motive for introducing the Russian system, it proved to be too abstract and technical for use in the schools, since it altogether neglected the aspects of beauty or utility in the objects made and concentrated alone on the manipulation of tools, the making of joints, etc.

Sloyd. — A type of manual work that proved to be of greater utility in the schools was imported from Finland and Sweden under the name of sloyd. Uno Cygnaeus, a Finnish educator, had seen the desirability of stimulating the employment by the peasants of the long winter season in some form of domestic industry as a supplementation of their incomes from farming. He developed a system of constructive activities about the making of utensils and other objects of use, which was adapted to school needs and which might be expected to be carried on after school years in the homes. The government of Finland made this type of constructive work a stated part of the rural school curriculum in 1866.

While the practical utility of this instruction as developed by Cygnaeus was evident and an important motive for its propagation, the founder of the system thought of it as being the logical extension of the activity principle of the kindergarten. Here, perhaps, is the first point at which the close interrelationship between "industrial education," and the philosophy of Froebel appears, particularly where the industrial work was prized for its general educational value rather than for its vocational use. Cygnaeus acknowledged his dependence upon Froebel's philosophy of education. In speaking of the constructive work of the schools, he said: "It should include not only Froebel's gifts, but work suitable for older pupils and which may contribute to the training of the hand, to the development of the sense of form, to the cultivation of the aesthetic sense and to the acquisition by the pupils of a general skill useful in all the circumstances of life."[1]

The work of Cygnaeus was imitated and adapted by Otto Salomon of Sweden, who emphasized the general educational features of constructive work under the name educational sloyd. In 1875 he established at Näas, in Sweden, a normal school which became the Mecca of educational observers from all over the world. Salomon's work early attracted attention in the United States. It was made the subject of official reports and of magazine articles, and observers from this country went to Sweden to learn the method at first hand, bringing back to the schools of the United States the system of hand work known as Swedish sloyd. This system was much more acceptable for the use of the elementary schools than the Russian system had proven to be, with the result that the industrial work done in American schools for a period following 1890 was definitely dependent upon the example of Salomon. And, of course, this implies that the predominant motive of the work was not narrowly vocational, but educational in a general sense.

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[1] Quoted from L. F. Anderson, *History of Manual and Industrial Education*, p. 182.

Relationship between the Kindergarten and Industrial Education. — The close affiliations between the kindergarten and the industrial education movement is shown clearly in the development of two institutions in New York City, namely, the Ethical Culture School and Teachers College. The origin of the Ethical Culture School may be traced to the organization in 1878, under the lead of Dr. Felix Adler, of the Free Kindergarten. When the first group of children had passed through the kindergarten, the issue arose as to whether they should be handed over to the public school " and become subject to its mechanical methods " or whether the supporters of the kindergarten should take upon themselves the responsibility of continuing their education and open for them a new school " such as had not yet existed in this community, in which the reformed system begun in the kindergarten might be continued through all the higher stages of instruction."

The appeal of Dr. Adler resulted in the founding of the Workingman's School in 1879. In this school a place was found in the curriculum for four hours of creative or constructive work each week and for two hours of drawing during the first year, and this same amount of time was planned for such activities for each of the succeeding seven years of the course outlined. The new subjects were given a definite place among the other school subjects, which for the first year were reading, writing, arithmetic, object lessons, singing, calisthenics, and ethics.

Dr. Adler clearly thought of the new school as embodying a great deal of the spirit of the kindergarten and especially as giving a place in the regular elementary curriculum to the constructive activities which were the special badge of Froebel's institution. He did not propose to give his pupils an aptitude or special preparation for any particular trade. "We propose," he said, "in one word, to educate our pupils so that they will not become working drudges, not working slaves in the treadmill of labor; but so that while they remain *working*men and *working*women they may also be, in the best and noblest sense, working*men* and working*women*."[1] At another place in the same address he described the educational significance of the inclusion of industrial activities in the curriculum: "We are seeking to apply the principle which ought to be at the foundation of every modern scheme of education: namely, that, as experiment conjoined with observation is necessary to the discovery of truth, so object-creating must supplement object-teaching in that rediscovery of truth which it is the purpose of all education to facilitate. Therefore, work instruction is not something outside the regular instruction; it is an organic part of the regular instruction. It becomes a means of teaching mathematics, for instance, more thoroughly, causing the pupils to work out mathematical truths with their own hands. . . . It becomes the means of making the hand a wise and cunning hand by putting more brain into it. But, on the other hand, it makes the brain a clear and vigorous and enlightened brain, by giving it the salutary corrective of the demonstrations of the hand."

The success of the methods followed in the Workingman's School caused well-to-do parents to wish for the same quality of education for their own children as was provided as a charity in the Workingman's School. Accordingly, in 1895 the name was changed to the Ethical Culture School and one-half of the total enrollment was put on a fee-paying basis. The close affiliations of the school with the philosophy of Froebel was evidenced in the large place which was found in it for hand work and artistic activities.

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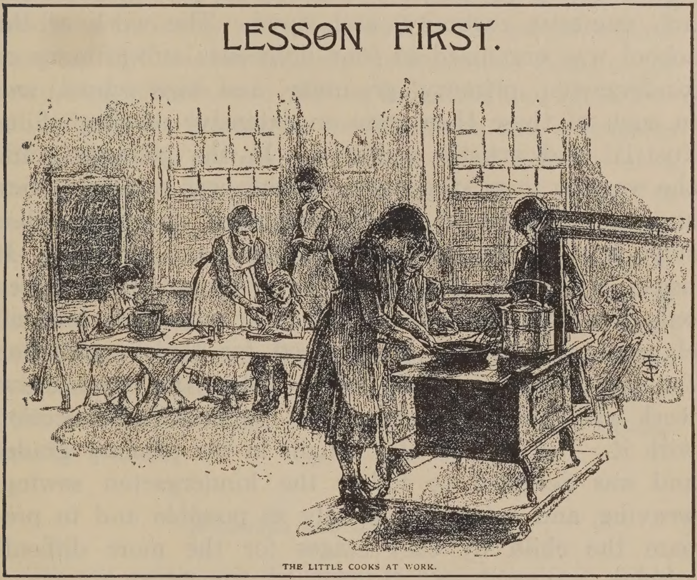
[1] See *The Workingman's School*, an address by Felix Adler, Ph.D., October 24, 1880.

The close interrelationship which existed between industrial education and the kindergarten is further shown in the train of educational developments which eventuated in Teachers College of Columbia University. The remotest beginnings of this institution lay in the effort of Miss Emily Huntington in the city of New York to adapt kindergarten procedures for the use of girls of older than kindergarten age. For the cubes and spheres and colored pasteboard of the kindergarten she instituted little pots and pans and brooms and other utensils used in housekeeping, and organized a definite system of instruction for girls along the lines of elementary household arts. The name unhappily chosen for this new kind of instruction was the Kitchen Garden, which was intended to convey the notion that it was a modification of the " child garden " in the direction of kitchen activities. The work, however, in spite of its name, proved to be highly successful and was imitated in many other cities. Indeed, the movement in the direction of home training, including sewing, cooking, and general household activities, seemed to spring up as at a signal at about this time in cities all over the country. Miss Huntington's work was organized and extended in 1880 through the formation of the Kitchen Garden Association of New York. Four years later this body was dissolved and its members immediately entered into a new society called the Industrial Education Association. The work of the earlier association was continued and the society also became active in agitating for the inclusion of industrial activities as a part of the curriculum of the public schools of New York City.

The Industrial Education Association at its origin was confronted with the problem of finding teachers of sewing and other household arts to carry on its program, so a normal class was put in operation in 1884 to supply this demand. By 1887 it was seen that the problem of securing the new type of teachers needed for the work had to be met in a more fundamental way, so the society moved for the incorporation of a College for the Training of Teachers, which was opened at 9 University Place in 1888, with a model school connected with it. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, then professor of philosophy in Co-


LESSON FIRST.
THE LITTLE COOKS AT WORK.

A Cooking Lesson
From Emily Huntington, *Kitchen Garden*.

lumbia College, became the first president of the new college. In 1892 the name of the institution was changed to Teachers College. In 1894 Teachers College, with its affiliated school known as the Horace Mann School, moved to its present site on 120th Street.

The faculty of the College for the Training of Teachers in 1889 included instructors in wood-working, industrial art, domestic economy, and sloyd. The work of the school was organized in four divisions: sub-primary or kindergarten, primary, grammar, and high school, and in each of these there was an extensive offering of industrial and artistic activities. In the primary grade the work in form study and drawing was a continuation and development of the kindergarten plays. Swedish sloyd work of the simplest character was also given. It began with easy objects in the construction of which only the knife was used and led to more complex and elaborate objects which required for their completion the use of several simple tools. All of the constructive work was based on drawing and pursued in connection with it. Sewing was also taught in the primary grades and was designed to follow the kindergarten sewing, weaving, and cutting as closely as possible and to prepare the child by easy stages for the more difficult stitches.

In the grammar grades the work in form study and drawing was represented on levels of greater difficulty than in the primary grades. The pupils undertook wood-working with carpenter's tools. The construction work was closely connected with the instruction in geography and elementary science. Sewing was continued. Cooking was begun in the grammar grades and included information regarding the chemical composition and the relative nutrition values of various foods.

Enough has been said about the development of industrial education to indicate that by the year 1890 a new element was prepared to enter in a significant way into the curriculum and procedures of the common school in the United States. At the upper end of the school course, manual training work, either according to the Russian system or following the Swedish system of sloyd, was being introduced in towns and cities and in the model schools connected with teacher training institutions. Some of the more daring schools were offering industrial and art activities in the lower grades, as modifications and extensions of kindergarten procedure. Many more schools in a timid way were introducing activities closely related to the free play of the kindergarten as appropriate exercises for the primary grades, even though such adaptations were hardly specialized enough to be classified as industrial education. The day was close at hand when a new dimension of school method was about to be added to customary school procedures through the embodiment of the notion that the child was primarily and fundamentally a doer.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Can you explain why the system of "object-teaching" should have been unknown to Dr. Sheldon before he first saw the exhibit at Toronto? Perhaps the answer lies in the circumstances of his early connection with education. These facts are given in DR. NED H. DEARBORN's book entitled *The Oswego Movement in American Education.*

2. Can you believe that a good object lesson represented an improvement over the traditional course of study for children in the lower grades? What superiorities did it possess?

3. What were the weaknesses of the method?

4. Name the factors that contributed to the great popularity of the system of "object-teaching" between 1860 and 1880.

5. Give the best exposition you can of the philosophy known as absolute idealism. In this philosophy what relationship is thought to exist between God and the human individual?

6. Knowing Froebel's philosophy, can you understand why he interpreted childhood as he did? Explain the meaning of kindergarten — child garden.

7. Compare the spirit and activities of the kindergarten with those of such schools as are described in the preceding chapter.

8. What is meant by saying that the kindergarten represented a "cult" in education? Why did this characteristic of the kindergarten operate against its more general acceptance?

9. What varying views of the advantage to be expected from hand work in the schools appeared at the beginning of the industrial education movement? Are these two viewpoints represented in the current organization of education?

10. What educational advantages did sloyd appear to have over manual training? Which of these systems was nearer to the philosophy of Froebel?

11. Arrange the evidence which shows the close relationship existing between industrial education and the kindergarten at about 1885.

12. Trace the circumstances which led from the Kitchen Garden Association to the founding of Teachers College.

13. Can you see in the work done in the Workingman's School and in the Horace Mann School a striking forecast of what we think of as a good elementary school today?

REFERENCES

The most complete account of the life and work of Dr. Edward A. Sheldon is found in NED H. DEARBORN, *The Oswego Movement in American Education*, Teachers College Bureau of Publications. In some libraries E. A. SHELDON, *A Manual of Elementary Instruction*, and N. A. CALKINS, *Primary Object Lesson*, may be available.

The formalized type of Pestalozzian instruction is discussed in S. C. PARKER, *History of Modern Elementary Education*, Ginn, Chapter XVI.

NINA C. VANDEWALKER, *The Kindergarten in American Education*, published by Macmillan, is the best account of the historical development of the kindergarten in the United States.

For an understanding of the traditional kindergarten materials and methods the student may read Kate Douglass Wiggin and Nora A. Smith, *The Republic of Childhood*, Houghton Mifflin, 3 vols.

For a general account of the history of industrial education the student should consult L. F. Anderson, *History of Manual and Industrial Education*, published by D. Appleton.

The early history of Teachers College is contained in Walter L. Hervey, *A Historical Sketch of Teachers College*, Teachers College Record, January, 1900.

CHAPTER XXII

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT AND PRACTICE SINCE THE CIVIL WAR (*Continued*)

4. THE HERBARTIAN PEDAGOGY

Among the forces that affected the American school before the close of the nineteenth century none is to be mentioned with higher respect than the influences which originated with a German psychologist and educator, John Frederick Herbart. Herbart was born in the year of the American Declaration of Independence and died in 1841. His most productive years, from the standpoint of his philosophical and educational writings, covered the first third of the nineteenth century. Yet fifty years were to elapse between his death and the impact of his educational theories upon education in this country. After his death his educational views were carried on and developed by Tuiskon Ziller, Karl Volkmar Stoy, Karl Lange, and many others, among whom the most important for this narrative was Wilhelm Rein, professor of pedagogics at the University of Jena. It was to Rein's seminar at Jena that a number of young American students were attracted, of whom the best known were Edmund James, Charles DeGarmo, and the brothers, Charles and Frank McMurry.

These young men brought to this country the Herbartian theories and practices in the early nineties and led a spirited campaign for their adoption in the common schools. Filled with the zeal of crusaders they formed the Herbart Club in 1892, to facilitate the spread of Herbartian ideas. Three years later this organization became the National Herbart Society for the Scientific Study of Education. The enlarged membership of the new society included many who were not definitely committed to the Herbartian views, but the leadership of the new society continued to lie for a time in the hands of those who had formed the Herbart Club and the programs of the annual meetings continued to deal with subjects closely related to the original Herbartian pedagogy. In 1902 the word " Herbart " was dropped from the name of the society and it became the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education. The period from 1892 to 1902, a brief span of ten years, is the time during which the Herbartian pedagogy as theory of education was most influential. We shall see, however, in a later connection, that the late arrival in America of the psychology and pedagogy of Herbart almost exactly corresponded to the rise and development of a new psychology, traceable to William James, and a new philosophy of teaching, expressed preëminently in the writings of John Dewey. This new foundation of educational practice, coming so close upon the heels of the Herbartian theory, was destined to supplant that and all other partial philosophies of education and serve as a comprehensive and well-rounded basis of educational thought and practice.

If the Froebelian philosophy pointed to a thoroughgoing change in the school through utilizing the rich equipment of inborn tendencies and making this natural dynamic the motive power of education, the Herbartian influence was exerted against the narrow, mechanical, memoriter ways in which the material of instruction was treated. Its chief thrust was directed against the unrelieved grind of choppy book assignments to be learned by heart and recited, which constituted almost exclusively the exercises of the schoolroom. It provided formulas and examples of a more enlightened kind of school learning, which was to depend upon vital interest on the part of the learner, which was to exhibit organization in terms of meaning, and which was to be directed toward the development of intelligent moral character.

It is rather annoying to have to recall that the Herbartian pedagogy, in spite of all that it did for the American schools, was based upon an inadequate psychology, soon to lose its authority, which was definitely responsible for some of the limitations of the method. Without attempting to describe this psychology in great detail it seems desirable to furnish a brief outline of its main elements. This is necessary both for understanding its educational implications and for appreciating its relationships to the psychology and educational theory which have succeeded the Herbartian in American education.

The Herbartian Psychology *versus* the Faculty Psychology. — As compared with the faculty psychology, which may be called with perfect justice the reigning psychology in American colleges, normal schools, and educational literature in 1890, the Herbartian description of mind possessed many advantages for making clear the way of teaching and learning. The faculty psychology had as its central tenet the existence of the soul, which possessed a number of faculties or powers, such as sensation, perception, memory, imagination, thought, feeling, and will. Of these the will was the supreme faculty, with the function of making choices and issuing fiats, — in short, of ruling the individual. There was, however, no formula which adequately described the method whereby the materials of memory, thought, and feelings operated on the sovereign will.

There was no way of saying clearly and definitely how the experiences, which it was the business of the teacher to provide, could affect conduct, although the whole process of instruction depended on the assumption that what the child learned by way of precept and example did get translated somehow into character. The memory could be strengthened through exercise, — through learning by heart. The faculty of thinking could be made healthy and vigorous by means of exercises in reasoning. But in the absence of any description as to how information learned by heart, and rational habits developed through exercise, made contact with the will, the faculty psychology fell back upon exercise of those mythical faculties, for its own sake, as the chief end of school exercises.

The pedagogical implications that were easily drawn out of the faculty psychology could be employed to justify in large part the mechanical procedures of the school. President Noah Porter, for example, in his *Elements of Intellectual Science*, which was one of the most widely used psychologies in the American colleges of the 'eighties and early 'nineties, speaks as follows of the training of the memory:

> The methods of education should recognize the wise arrangements of nature in developing and maturing the memory. In the earlier periods of life the spontaneous memory should be stimulated and enriched by appropriate studies. The child should learn stories, verses, poems, facts, and dates, as freely and as accurately as it can be made to respond to such tasks. During this early and objective period, it should learn as many languages as is possible in the circumstances, or as is desirable for its future pursuits. . . . The large accumulations of facts and dates, as in geography and history, which are made very early by many carefully trained children, and with the greatest ease on their part, are liable to be effaced, and, as it were, swept clean out from the memory, unless they are secured

> against loss by reviewing them and rearranging them under the newer and higher relations which the development of the reason makes possible.
>
> On the other hand, to anticipate the development of the reflecting powers, by forcing upon the intellect studies which imply and require these capacities, is to commit the double error of misusing the time which is especially appropriate to simple acquisition, and of constraining the intellect to efforts which are untimely and unnatural.[1]

It is hardly to be wondered at that students of education turned away from the besetting sterility of the faculty psychology to embrace, perhaps uncritically, the Herbartian system when the latter seemed to throw so much more light on the learning process. There was a description of mind which at least showed how the ordinary everyday experiences of the schoolroom — the daily bread of education — could be transmuted into character and good conduct.

The psychology of Herbart knew nothing of the soul and eliminated the metaphysical element except in presupposing a sort of " home base " around which ideas might cluster in the development of an individual. The starting point of a mind was a so-called " real," a monad which knew nothing and contributed nothing and had no function except to provide a locus and a substratum for the play and interaction of ideas. For the only positive quality of this monad was that it could receive impressions from other reals that made contact with it. It could be modified, but it could not be destroyed.

Apperception. — According to this original assumption, which to be sure was a large assumption and quite unjustified by what we now think about mind, the province of psychology was the description of the modes according to which the mind was furnished and built up.

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[1] See Noah Porter, *Elements of Intellectual Science*, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1871, impression of 1883, p. 272 f.

In this process of development the fundamental principle was that of apperception. This meant that every time an idea made contact with the original self that self was by that much changed, and changed for good and all. Any later experience was received by the self as so modified, and with the addition of new experiences the self was constantly becoming a new, more expansive, and more complicated self. No new idea could make an effective contact with the self except as it was received in terms of all that the self was at the time.

Translated into educational procedures this meant that if a new experience was to be an organized, established part of the learner it had to make a contact with, establish some identity or relationship with, something that was already a part of the learner. New facts had to be assimilated with facts already known if they were to stick. The mere aggregation of facts learned by heart — dates, places, definitions — was useless. It was not real learning because such facts had made no real contact with the learner's consciousness. To be learned they had to be built in — built in with the mortar of meaning.

Interest. — In the course of the building up of a self, many ideas call, but only a few are invited to come in. The casual bombardment of sensations which fall in the welter of everyday experience results in few direct hits. Even the more carefully directed fire of book lessons and teacher's talk often rattles harmlessly about the citadel of the pupil's experience. For a new experience to make contact with the mind, it must be invited in. The mind must be prepared to receive it and in an attitude of receiving it. This condition of the mind, in which it could be impressed with new experiences and would assimilate these experiences into itself, was called interest. The learning process called for alertness and receptivity on the part of the learner. To learn he must wish to know, and in order to get him to wish to know, the material to be learned had to have some relationship to the established and already consolidated parts of his experience.

In emphasizing the importance of interest the Herbartian pedagogy closed the schoolroom door upon externally imposed tasks which could be undertaken only half-heartedly, perhaps absent-mindedly, and with little hope of lasting acquisition. Not that pupils should never be assigned tasks, nor never be expected to do what they didn't want to do, but that the uninspiring chore should be seen in a larger setting of significance so that it might be undertaken as a necessary part of a larger project in which the pupil could discover meaning. Interest was the antidote proposed against dawdling, casual, wasteful school routine.

The Herbartian Psychology and Character Building. — Perhaps in no respect was the Herbartian psychology more acceptable than for the new clearness in which it exhibited the process of character development. The American schools had been thought of as the nurseries of good citizens and to that end geography, civics, physiology, and literature had been added to the curriculum in the faith that out of these materials good citizens would be made. But the case was not so clear when history was just a learning of facts and dates, when geography was a game of question and answer, when civics was learning the structure of the government and long lists of offices and names of officials, and when literature was the study of the biography of great writers. The methods followed in the schools did not seem to be helping materially in the development of citizens because memoriter learning gave neither intelligent appreciation of the quantities with which citizens had to deal nor social-minded attitudes. Besides, the democratic institutions of the land in the 'eighties and 'nineties were being subject to the shock of a flood of immigration concentrating in the cities, and to the insidious effects of a combination of "big business" and venal public officials for plunder. The very foundations of democracy seemed to be crumbling when "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" appeared to be eventuating in an orgy of corruption and inefficiency. It was at that juncture of American life that the Herbartian formulas seemed to promise that the schools, through the teaching process, might be employed in the production of good citizens.

The basis for this hope, however well or badly justified, lay in the fact that according to the Herbartian psychology, the self developed out of its experiences and in accord with them. The power to control the experiences of the growing child was the power to determine what he should become. The schoolmistress controlled the experiences of the pupil; accordingly, by selecting the right sort of experiences and using her arts to build them up in the patterns desired, all of which seemed to be quite within her capabilities, the production of good and useful citizens could be guaranteed.

In describing the self the Herbartians eliminated the conception of the will as a separate or specialized faculty or function of the mind. The will, if there was any use for the word at all, was simply the whole self acting. Conduct was the expression of character, and character was the net result of education. A moral choice was made on the basis of the kind of person one was, and the kind of person one was depended on the experiences which he had had and the way in which these experiences were interrelated and bound together to make this particular pattern of a man.

For example, according to the Herbartian psychology, the decision with regard to such a matter as how one could spend his summer ultimately involves his entire self. Should he take a trip to Europe? Should he rusticate in the Adirondacks and try to realize his soul's desire of infinite golf and fishing? Should he attend to the call of professional advantage and attend the summer session at some university? The choice which this young bachelor makes (for to think of him as a married man would make the problem entirely too complicated for our consideration) is an expression of himself, — of what he fundamentally is. Now at the outset what he really is may not be clear even to himself, and it may take a long time for him to find out. At times he may seem to be the kind of man who would go fishing; at others he is the man who would make the more constructive and self-denying choice of a summer spent in professional improvement. Or he may be both of these in one, with certain practical considerations, such as the state of his health, or the condition of his bank balance, playing a large part in his final decision. But when he once gets his self composed, when he is committed to a given course for days and weeks on end and the alternative drops out of sight, when he gets his mind made up, then we know, at that particular time at least, what sort of person he is with reference to the alternatives presented.

The Herbartian psychology omitted from consideration certain inborn physiological and psychological endowments of the individual which the current psychology of character and conduct recognizes as extremely important. But it is supported by the best of contemporary thought in this respect, namely, that the factor of choice goes back to the character of the chooser and that when the self is composed, action takes place as called for by the idea that remains on the field. There is no intervention of any mythological will that chooses, or pronounces "let it be done."

With so direct a relationship existing between experience and conduct, it is to be expected that the Herbartians should pay a great deal of attention to the ways and means of building up the right sort of self. Herbart himself, writing in the early years of the nineteenth century, systematically laid out the whole range of the experiences which should be built into the pupil. To this comprehensive pattern he gave the name "many-sidedness of interest" and by means of it he proposed to furnish the child with an "aesthetic revelation of the universe." The things that the pupil needed to know about nature and human society, the intellectual habits he should possess, his aesthetic feelings, his attitudes toward his fellows both as individuals and as organized society, and, finally, his attitude before the whole mystery of creation and human destiny, — all these and none missing should be built into his self by means of education. The later Herbartians made less of this comprehensive outline than did Herbart himself, but they saw history, civics, science, mathematics, art, manual construction, and literature as forming the intellectual backgrounds and the purposive attitudes that enter into good character and social conduct. The processes of education were to compound an individual who, when confronted with an action situation, would do the right thing because he could do no other, being that kind of self.

Learning as Thinking. — Herbart himself had very elaborate theories about the conditions according to which ideas formed into larger aggregates of experience. He even went so far as to provide mathematical formulas describing their tendencies. This extreme aspect of the Herbartian psychology entered, however, very little into the primarily pedagogical interests of his later followers and for our purposes may be neglected. On the other hand, the more ordinary processes of organization of ideas were of central importance for educational theory. From one viewpoint the whole process of education was based upon the orderly building up of an organized and related experience.

The thing that establishes order among ideas and develops relationships is *meaning*. It is only when an idea points to some other idea, or possesses a meaning fringe, to use Professor Dewey's phrase, that it can be assimilated to the existing body of experience. Accordingly, meanings constitute a sort of family grouping into which new experiences may be welcomed and adopted. In turn the adopted new idea builds up, expands, or modifies the family into which it comes. The technical name used by the later Herbartians for these organizing meanings was the concept, or general notion, and it was about the concept that orderly and systematic process of instruction turned.

It was due to their recognition of the fundamental importance of meanings in the development of an orderly, systematic, and efficient experience that the Herbartians insisted that the subject-matter of instruction should consist of "methodical unities," or thought units, or units of instruction. A history lesson, for example, should not be assigned as so many pages in a textbook, but should represent a unit of meaningful historical experience. The teacher should not say, "Next lesson will be from page 90 to page 96," but rather "Tomorrow we shall try to find out what conditions of American life from 1783 to 1789 led to the adoption of a stronger frame of government than the Articles of Confederation." The work in geography was to be organized in units which contributed meanings in themselves and were also parts of a far-flung kingdom of meanings. In that subject it was not enough to learn in a mechanical way the location of a city and a few facts about its commercial life, which was the customary procedure. Geography was a system of meanings and it was the business of the school to discover those meanings. Why have the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul developed as they have? What were their advantages of location? What did the rivers contribute to their growth? What did the dense forests of northern Minnesota signify for them? What was the relationship to these cities of the rich agricultural lands to the west of them? What did wheat do for these cities? What factors contributed to their development as a milling center, as a center of commercial exchange? And so forth might be unrolled the inner meaning of the growth of Minneapolis and St. Paul.

In the scientific subjects the same demand was made. It was not enough to know the names of the four stages of the metamorphosis of insects. The process itself must be concretely understood and appreciated. Its meaning must be plain. It must be a part of an organized experience, so that in later connections it might be an active agent of interpretation or classification. To know by heart a scientific law, that is, to have a verbal mastery of it, was not enough. The thing itself, that is, its meaning, must be an element in the pupil's working experience.

The Herbartians exerted a great influence upon the technique of teaching and the organization of the curriculum through this insistence upon the central position of meanings in the learning process. Such doctrine was a frontal attack upon the prevalent study of a book page by page, with any fact as important or as meaningless as every other. It did not necessarily mean that books were done away with, but it did mean that the mastery of the facts of the book should be only serviceable to the acquisition of an organized meaning. It introduced the element of evaluation of subject-matter as well as an element of critical appraisal of the author's statement. Moreover, when the meaning became the central objective and the textbook took its place as a means of acquiring that meaning, the importance of other texts, of concrete experience, of illustration by pictures and still further enrichment of the lesson, became plain. The way was opened for calling in the whole available apparatus of learning as contained in the library, the museum, the daily press, home and social experiences, and whatever else might be found to relate to the idea or meaning which was the particular business of a part of a school day. The importance which current pedagogy attaches to " units of work " lies in definite and easily traceable descent from the Herbartian influence of the 'nineties.

The Herbartian insistence that the materials of instruction should be organized according to meanings led to an active campaign for the elimination of useless material that was cluttering up the curriculum. Useless and obsolete processes of arithmetic, dates and facts of history and geography that had no conceivable bearing upon the pupil's future life, endless parsing and diagraming, and still other wasteful and stupid school procedures were shown to be out of place and were zestfully thrown overboard. It was found to be a useful criterion of the worthwhileness of a given datum or process to ask whether it could function in the organization of a more comprehensive meaning pattern. The critical reconstruction of the school curriculum owes a great deal to the impulses given American education by the Herbartians.

The Five Formal Steps of the Recitation. — The stress upon thought unities as the basis of the work of the school had an important bearing also upon the technique of class instruction. The specific purpose of teaching was to put the pupil in possession of meanings, or as the Herbartians preferred to say it, of general notions, or concepts. Each lesson, or a group of lessons, was directed toward the discovery, the clarification, and the fixation through use, of a meaning. In order to do this effectively the course of the recitation should follow the ordinary processes by which the mind built itself up. The counterpart of this process of building-up mind was the " five formal steps " of the recitation.

The author hesitates to recall these five formal steps because they have so often proven to be, in direct contravention of the Herbartian spirit, just five hateful names to be learned by heart. They do, however, possess a useful professional meaning, and it would be difficult to get on with the story without them. These steps were: preparation, presentation, comparison and abstraction, generalization or definition, and application. To be sure, different exponents of Herbart called these steps by different names, but all thought of them as pointing to substantially the same process of instruction.

The step of preparation was intended to prepare the apperceptive masses of the pupils for the reception of new material and to establish the proper " mind-set," as we might say today. As a part of this step the aim of the lesson was to be made clear so that the direction in which the exercise was leading might be plain to all and participated in by all. Under presentation the new information necessary for reaching the meaning which was the objective of the lesson would be introduced. This might be in the form of a story told by the teacher, an assignment in a book or a number of books, or a visual demonstration before the class, or it might follow the "development method" and represent a drawing out from the experience of the class such information as could assist in the discovery of the meaning. With the facts before the class the next phase of the procedure was to establish all sorts of connections among the facts or between what was newly presented and what the children already knew. This step was called comparison and abstraction, and, as its name implied, it was to result in the elimination of incorrect relationships which the pupils may have had in mind, and in the clear delineation of the central and valid notion which the exercise was leading up to. Having gained the notion, it was necessary to fix it up in a handy package for compact and easily accessible storage. Accordingly the class made up a concise formula or definition which expressed in as few words as possible, but comprehensively, the meaning of the lesson. This stage was called generalization or definition. Finally to make a lasting impression and to guarantee its genuineness, the new notion was put to work, under the caption of application. In other words, the pupils were expected to illustrate or rediscover or otherwise employ the meaning which had been developed in the lesson in some other experience which embodied the same meaning.

In illustration of a Herbartian lesson which followed the five formal steps, we may think of a class being invited to learn the causes of aridity in the Great American Desert. As preparation for the lesson the teacher would call for any experiences which the pupils might be able to offer which would establish the fact of aridity over a great part of southwestern United States. Personal experiences in travel, tales of travelers, adventure stories, articles in the *National Geographic Magazine*, — anything that the pupils knew or thought they knew about the Great American Desert would be grist to that teacher's mill. Then would come the question why it doesn't rain there, and then the announcement or implication that the next business of the class will be to find out why it doesn't rain in that great southwestern area. (Preparation and statement of the aim completed.)

The stage of presentation might be arranged in various ways. Probably an indispensable property would be a physiographical or contour map of the region to establish the fundamental facts of location. Use would also be found for a map of prevailing winds. The cause of aridity is that the winds bearing moisture have already had their moisture precipitated by the cooling affects of high altitudes or for some other reason before they reach the desert. Perhaps a part of the presentation would involve a physical experiment showing the effect of lowered temperature on the factor of precipitation. But when all the data are at hand necessary for an understanding of the cause of aridity in the Southwest, the step of presentation has been completed.

Comparison and abstraction are represented in the working out by teacher and class of the essential causes and the elimination of the non-essential factors so that the meaning or general notion to be carried away is clear. Definition would consist of an accurate restatement of the general notion and application would be made by the children in examining other contour and wind maps in order to try to explain other desert regions, such as the Sahara or the Desert of Gobi.

All of this was, of course, susceptible of being carried to a silly extreme, and as a matter of fact it was decidedly overdone. In many normal schools, as a result of the Herbartian influence, practice teachers were compelled to organize each lesson in terms of the five formal steps, stating where each step began and ended and what was to be done with reference to each. Class exercises were marked off into the five steps as if cut with a cheese knife or signaled by a bell. And much of that, to be sure, was artificial and misguided. The fact remains, however, that the technique of teaching was greatly improved by the teacher's having in mind a procedure which centered upon the liberation and acquisition of meanings.

The Correlation of Studies. — In yet another way did the Herbartian insistence upon organizing the materials of instruction according to thought unities offer a corrective to current school practices in the 'nineties. The Herbartians saw nothing sacrosanct in the traditional arrangement and handling of the school subjects according to which each subject went its way without reference to any of the others. On the contrary they believed that the arbitrary separation of arithmetic, language, geography, history, drawing, and science made it impossible for the child to use the materials of these subjects in a way appropriate to the construction of a unified experience. The educated mind is a unified mind; accordingly in the process of education things belonging together should be put together. In other words, they attacked the organization of the curriculum in terms of separate subjects taught without reference to one another and proposed that a unified and unitary program should be worked out so as to bring into conjunction the elements of each subject that mutually reinforced and clarified one another. The work in geography of a given day, for example, should have a bearing upon that same day's work in history, and the same would be true for literature, science, drawing, and everything else that had representation in the school program. The massing of these experiences from many fields would contribute to the thoroughness and comprehensiveness of the child's experience, whereas the division of subjects as ordinarily followed resulted in the pigeonholing of the facts of geography here, the facts of history there, and made it impossible for the child ever to assemble the whole picture.

This idea of the correlation of subjects, as it was called, was in many respects sound, particularly for the program of studies in the lower grades. It enabled school life to take on some of the semblance of life out of school where, as has often been pointed out, experiences come together in a variegated pattern, the elements of which may be assorted among all the subjects of the curriculum. The early experimentation with the idea of correlation was not altogether successful, but it has been worked over and improved until it is at present a well-accepted principle of curriculum organization.

The greatest impetus to this attempt at reorganizing the school program came from Tuiskon Ziller and Wilhelm Rein, upon whom Ziller's mantle fell and who became head of the school of the prophets in which were nurtured the men who brought Herbartianism to the United States. Ziller and Rein attempted to "concentrate" the entire curriculum about a central core of sacred and profane history (Bible history being a required study in the German schools). This core was not considered appropriate, however, for the lowest two grades, for the first of which Grimm's *Fairy Tales* and the second of which *Robinson Crusoe* was employed. The central activity of the children in the lowest grades, for example, would be the study of a selected group of fairy tales. The objects named or suggested in the tales became the subject of nature-study instruction and the basis of the art work of the grade. The exercises in reading and writing were likewise drawn from the fairy stories and such elementary work as was done in number work had its inception from the objects and experiences suggested by the fairy tales.

The concentration procedure was comparatively easy in the lowest grades, but in the upper grades it became decidedly labored. What reason could be assigned, for example, for making the whole work of the school in the seventh year center about (1) the original congregations of churches and the Apostle Paul, as the unit of sacred history; and (2) the discovery of America and its first settlement, history of the Reformation, and the Thirty Years' War, as the unit of profane history? And what a difficulty arose when it became essential to make a selection of geography, arithmetic, science, and so forth which would at once relate in some logical way to the historical core and at the same time provide comprehensive development of the special field! Wilhelm Rein prepared eight large volumes, one for each year of the folk school, in his effort to work out his system in detail and it is rather surprising to see how far he succeeded in an impossible task.

Culture Epochs. — A further complication of the plans of Ziller and Rein was to discover an arrangement of the core subjects which represented orderly and successive stages in the evolution of the human race. The child was thought to reproduce in his growth the history of the race, for which reason at each stage of his development he should be brought into contact with the corresponding stage of social evolution and in the course of his education he must have recapitulated the history of mankind. Ziller and Rein divided the era of sacred and profane history into eight epochs which they thought of as representing eight periods in the growth of the child arranged in successive stages of maturity and difficulty. Dr. Otto Beyer tried to arrange a curriculum about the following culture epochs: the stage of the hunter; the stage of the nomad; the stage of agriculture; the stage of the primal divisions of labor, the development of the manual trades, retail trade, and small cities; the stage of metropolitan life, commerce, wholesale trade, and great industries. Dr. Barth made a significant addition to the culture epoch plans in correlating a rich program of constructive activities, such as weaving, patternmaking, and so forth with a core based upon the stages of economic and social development. The influence of this example was to be seen in many American schools of the late 'nineties and is even visible in the customary activities followed by children in the primary grades today.

In the United States Col. Francis W. Parker attempted a plan of concentration of studies about a core of geography and Professor Frank McMurry outlined a plan for six grades centered around a core of literature and history.[1] Mrs. Lida B. McMurry published a plan of concentration for the first two school years which took for its basis fairy tales in the first year and *Robinson Crusoe* for the second. The concentration and culture epoch theories did not receive such extended development in the United States, however, as they had been given in Germany, and it was not long before the ardor, even of the leaders, for extreme application of these theories cooled.

It seems impossible from this day to recapture the spirit that animated the discussions of concentration and culture epochs in the early yearbooks of the National Herbart Society. It must have been an age of great faith and little humor in pedagogical circles. For many of the forcible and strained collocations of subject-matter which found place in these professsor-made schemes of concentration, there was no excuse either of logic or of utility. The effort to combine all the subjects of the curriculum in a single correlation scheme and yet meet the legitimate demands of each subject was too much even for a German professor of pedagogy. But though this first assault upon the closed compartment system of school studies was not a complete success, it achieved some definite gains. It was found that for at least the early years of the school course, a great deal of the material that should be included in the course of study could be arranged in large units, in which skills and subject-matter from a number of fields could be united with complete success and to the great improvement of the learning environment. Where any important elements of the course of study remained outside of these more comprehensive patterns of organization they were treated for their own sakes and in ways appropriate to them. The effort to combine materials from all the school subjects, whether they correlated logically or not, was given up, and natural relationships among the elements of the curriculum were sought out and allowed to develop according to their inner logic.

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[1] See Charles De Garmo, *Herbart and the Herbartians*, p. 123 ff.

For some time now this narrative has been concerned with a number of important educational innovations which made their impact upon American education during the generation following the Civil War. Each of these movements represented a protest against the mechanical procedures which had so completely captured the American graded school; each has been projected against that background; and each has been seen to possess something which in one way or another promised amelioration of the besetting ills of the school. At least two of these movements, however, the Froebelian and the Herbartian, possessed intellectual implications which were foreign to the dominant tendencies of American philosophy and psychology. Before they could be assimilated into the American school system it was essential that they should be critically examined and restated in terms of an authoritative psychology. This psychology, and the educational implications dependent upon it, were gradually taking form in the United States between 1890 and about 1910. Our next objective will be to examine into this new psychology and find out upon what terms it could make adjustments with the pedagogical theories and practices which have been the subject-matter of this chapter.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What aspects of the operation of the school machine, as described in Chapter XX, was the Herbartian system of pedagogy designed to counteract?
2. What were the disadvantages of the faculty psychology as a psychology for teachers?
3. What was meant by apperception? What demands did the psychology of apperception make upon the learning process? How did these demands affect school procedures?
4. What were the conditions of American society in the 'nineties which made welcome a pedagogy which revealed a method of character development?
5. In what respect did the Herbartian formulas seem to promise more aid to character development than the faculty psychology gave?
6. Does current pedagogy regard thinking as central in the learning process? What aspects of Herbartian pedagogy were related to the objective of getting pupils to think?
7. Arrange side by side the steps of the recitation as set forth by the Herbartians with the steps of the thinking process as described by Professor Dewey in *How We Think*. Do the two procedures arrive at

somewhat the same result? What differences are there between the two methods?

8. What is meant by correlation or concentration of studies? What special form of correlation was implied in the culture epoch theory? To what extent were the early attempts at correlation successful? What was the source of their imperfections?

9. What influence of the ideas of correlation and of culture epochs persists in current good school practices?

REFERENCES

Probably the best available account of the Herbartian pedagogy and its influence is contained in CHARLES DE GARMO, *Herbart and the Herbartians*, Scribner's.

An understandable description of the Herbartian psychology is found in SIR JOHN ADAMS, *Herbartian Psychology Applied to Education*, Chapter III, Heath.

The best source of information regarding the early interest in Herbartian theories in the United States is to be found in the Year Books of the National Herbart Society for the Scientific Study of Education. The form in which the Herbartian pedagogy reached the normal schools of the United States is well represented in C. A. McMURRY, *Elements of General Method*, Macmillan; and C. A. and F. M. McMURRY, *The Method of the Recitation*, Macmillan.

CHAPTER XXIII

A NEW PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS FOR EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

It is difficult for the student of education today to realize the confusion that existed in this country at about 1890 regarding the psychological basis upon which the theory of teaching and the choice of school experiences rested. The faculty psychology, which has been briefly referred to in an earlier connection (see p. 466 f.), continued to hold sway in most colleges and normal schools. The kindergartners professed allegiance to the philosophy and psychology of their sainted leader. The very aggressive group of educators who had just brought the Herbartian pedagogy from Germany naturally enough accepted the associationist psychology of Herbart and based their teachings about education upon it. If this combination of conflicting psychological creeds was not sufficiently complicated, the situation was to be made even more involved through the fact that a new psychology, taking its fundamental viewpoints from the Darwinian theory of organic evolution, was just being brought into existence.

The year 1890, which is the year when William James published his two-volume work on the *Principles of Psychology*, may be taken as the beginning of the influence of the new psychology in this country. During the next ten or fifteen years it was winning its way among the psychologists and educators of the United States. It was during that period that John Dewey was rising to a commanding position as a leader of educational thought through his analysis of educational aims and procedures on the basis of a biological conception of mind. G. Stanley Hall was at the same time the active leader in the first-hand observation of the mental life of young children, which generally was spoken of as child study.[1] These two men, and the active workers whom they enlisted, were largely responsible for recasting the psychological foundation upon which the Froebelian influences were enabled to become a vital part of the elementary school.

The publication of M. V. O'Shea's *Education as Adjustment* in 1903 and W. C. Bagley's *The Educative Process* in 1905 may be regarded as a definite indication that the new psychology had supplanted the faculty psychology and the Herbartian psychology in American education. These works provided for students in normal schools and colleges a new and systematic formulation of the principles and techniques of instruction based upon a dynamic psychology and a sociology that owed much to the theory of organic evolution.

The New Biological Psychology. — The new psychology found its point of departure in biological relationships rather than in metaphysical assumptions. It considered mind fundamentally as the agency of adjustment of the organism to its environment. Mind was an aid to the animal in survival. Mind was directly functional in enabling the organism to discover and use the world surrounding it.

Beginning with the lowest form of animal life, the amoeba, the functions of irritability and response are diffused in an altogether unspecialized way throughout the single cell which is all there is to the amoeba. With the development of sense organs, the animals a little higher in the scale of organic life are susceptible to a greater variety of stimuli than the amoeba and can discover at the same time a more varied world and respond to it in more complicated ways. With greater variety of stimulation and response, to be referred to a more extended and specialized bodily structure, connection and coördination among sense organs and responding structures are secured by means of a rudimentary nervous system. A little farther up the scale the business of the nervous system becomes so large that ganglionic centers, little bundles of nerve tissue, become necessary as trackage and shunting systems for the intricate variety of stimuli that are to be referred to a complex system of muscles and limbs capable of a great variety of action.

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[1] It should be mentioned that the beginning of Hall's work in child study antedates the publication of James's *Principles of Psychology* by ten years. Hall's influence on educational theory and procedures reached its peak, however, only with the establishment of a department of pedagogy in Clark University, of which Hall was president, in 1890, and the first publication of the *Pedagogical Seminary*, of which he was editor, in 1891.

Relatively high in the scale of animal creation a ganglionic center known as the brain appears, and as the scale is further ascended to man there appears a notable development of this organ. The lowest form of brain shows the medulla oblongata and the cerebellum most prominent and the cerebrum hardly in evidence at all. The medulla and the cerebellum are intricate switchboards necessary for the reception and transmission of a rich variety of sense stimuli from a highly organized set of sense organs to the organs which perform the functions of locomotion, attack and defense, food gathering, procreation, and others as well. The successively higher forms of brain show a progressively greater development of the cerebrum, which finally comes to represent the greatest part of the nerve tissue of the brain as a whole. Of all the animals the greatest preponderance of nervous tissue in the cerebrum occurs in man. The cerebrum performs the function of long circuiting the stimuli received from the sensory organs so that stored experiences, represented through modifications in the nervous tissue of the cerebrum, may play their part in the organism's response. The ordinary bodily controls of the higher organisms, including man, are unconsciously operated through the lower brain centers, but such organisms are not absolutely at the mercy of the mechanical connections of the medulla and cerebellum. In all higher organisms, but especially in man, the native or habitual response may be inhibited, modified, or redirected from the cerebral centers.

The vast extent and the bewildering intricacy of the cerebral connections tend to obscure their functional relationship in the life of man as a biological organism. It is as if nature, in the cerebrum, had provided a thousand square miles of switching yard for a railroad line only ten miles long. If we can imagine such a yard packed with freight cars on such a railroad line, it would be easy to suppose that many of the cars go through their entire existence being shifted about from one combination to another and never make a run on the main line at all. Just so it seems that much of a person's experience never has its day in action. The ideas of the philosopher, the mathematician, the historian, and even of the pupil studying the school subjects, seem never to get hooked up in a train of action to go anywhere.

The fact remains, however, that the nervous system, from sense organs to cerebrum, is originally and primarily a means of control. It is an instrumentality useful for the survival of the organism in its physical and social environment. It is the means which the organism has of knowing its world in order that it may act. And this is just as true of the nervous system of man as it is of the less developed and less intricate nervous systems of lower organisms. Sensation, memory, and thought are ultimately the servants of doing.

Dynamic Psychology and the Activity Factor in the School. — The changed conception of the nature and functions of mind as gained from a biological starting point has had a profound influence upon the theory and practices of education. The meaning of the learning process has been radically realigned. Learning is seen to be related to doing in a way previously not sensed. Learning is not something carried on exclusively for its own sake, but as a means to doing. Child activity in the schoolroom can no longer be regarded simply as a relief from book study or as a concession to the demands of industrial or practical life, or even as an amiable fad. Activity becomes central in the economy of the school by reason of the fact that it is central in the make-up of the child.

It has been much easier to work out the implications of this fundamental psychological principle in the lower grades than in the higher, where the school experiences more largely represent the elaboration of cerebral connections that require a fully adult stage for their appropriate embodiment in action and which in large part are not connected with any immediate and overt action whatever. The earlier years of school life, however, have been completely transformed by reason of the new realization of the place of doing in mental and moral growth. The school has been changed from a place where children exclusively learn out of books to a place where children primarily are engaged in activities appropriate to their interests and capacities.

On entering a modern first or second grade room one is immediately conscious of an activity setting. There is a bench and a supply of tools and boards. There is clay for modeling. There is evidence that children have been drawing and painting. There is a typewriter in a corner which the pupils use. There are collections of bark, leaves, insects, and what not, that they have brought together. Probably somewhere about the school building or grounds there are evidences of buildings under construction which they have undertaken. There is a bulletin board which records the activities planned for the day and other items of interest in the life of the class. The program of instruction is arranged not about the study of so many pages in a book, but is a life-sized plan, into which the children have entered, and which engages their minds and bodies in a constructive, developing experience. The rules of order are a reflection of the fact that the class group is a little society which must observe certain proprieties and exhibit certain moral attitudes necessary to the conduct of their particular little cross-section of social life.

In this genial and stirring environment the whole child is engaged. His native tendencies to do things with his hands, to plan the employment of raw materials of various sorts to embody his ideas and purposes, are here given scope for operation. His native love of form and color and sound finds appropriate avenues of expression and the school provides means of refining and developing it. His intellectual curiosity finds outlet and encouragement in the part of the school program designed to broaden his information and give him control of reading, writing, and number. The school arts are acquired — the child knows not how — by an indirect attack which makes them his allies rather than his enemies. The art of reading and the art of writing become important to him as forms of control of his environment which it is useful and pleasant for him to possess, and the exercise of which gives him a sense of power and of belonging to the grown-up, out-of-school world. Through his participation in the life of a miniature social group — entering into mutual plans, becoming responsible for services to the group, participating in a dramatic representation, competing with others for excellence — he matures his moral judgments and learns to control his actions according to their demands.

The Dynamic Psychology and the Kindergarten. — If this description of the newer conception of the school is true, it is plainly to be seen that there was little difficulty in adjusting the kindergarten to the new psychological theory. Froebel had been a mystical, but at the same time a shrewd and faithful, observer of little children. His tabulation of their original and native tendencies was not so different after all from that which a more scientific child study later arrived at. Fundamentally he found the child to be a doing creature who naturally tried to manipulate his environment and to express himself through speech, song, movement, construction, drawing, painting, making patterns, and so forth. He also recognized in the child a social being who tended to enter into satisfying and useful relationships with his fellows. The chief limitations of the Froebelian analysis of the original nature of the child were traceable to the metaphysical positions from which Froebel operated. He found the child to be all good, as the counterpart of the Absolute had to be. The scientific observer of child nature, on the other hand, found most of the original tendencies of the child to be good, and useful in the educative process, as would be expected when they are recognized as the net result of a long process of natural selection. Some of the child's tendencies, however, were recognized as needing modification, redirection, or even suppression.

In another important respect the psychology of Froebel corresponded closely with the current system in that it recognized the self-starting qualities, the dynamic aspect, of the child. For Froebel, to be sure, this was explained on a metaphysical basis. The child was active because he was the representative and embodiment of the Absolute, — of the Absolute who was engaged in an eternal process of self-expression and self-realization. Accordingly, Froebel placed this active tendency of the child, which he described in general terms as play, in the center of his educational system. The biological psychology no less recognized the presence of this dynamic in the original nature of the child, but explained it on purely physiological and descriptive grounds. The play of children, like the play of animals, resulted from an excess of energy over and above the needs of life and it took forms which represented preliminary practice in activities which would be useful in maturity. In the play of children, however, the high development of the cerebrum prompted the modification of those spontaneous activities into imitative patterns and greatly increased their intricacy.[1] Yet for all the difference in the explanation, the facts are identical in both systems of psychology. The educational theory based on the new psychology recognizes no less than did Froebel the supreme importance for the educative process of this native tendency of children to wide varieties of self-prompted activity as the basis of physical, mental, and moral growth. Contemporary education takes as its starting point the dynamic equipment which the child brings with him to school.

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[1] See Karl Groos, *The Play of Animals*, and *The Play of Man* by the same author.

A very definite deficiency of the Froebelian system was the limitation which it placed upon the activities that could be employed in the kindergarten. Froebel had worked out his gifts and occupations and his followers would neither give any of them up nor add any new ones. Child study prompted by the new psychology discovered that some of the activities practiced in the kindergarten were really not suitable to little children, as involving too great strain upon the eyes and the smaller muscles. It was a great advantage for pre-primary instruction that the new psychology set aside the kindergarten cult and justified reformed and expanded programs on that age level. It was this fact also that broke down the wall between kindergarten and elementary school and supplied a unitary basis for curriculum plans and methods of instruction in both.

The Biological Psychology and the Herbartian Pedagogy. — If the argument of the preceding pages has been sound, it can be accepted that there was a great deal in the Froebelian system of education which could be transferred with slight change into the pedagogical theories and practices definitely based upon the new biological psychology which was establishing itself as authoritative after 1890. It will be a matter of considerable interest to observe the fate of the Herbartian pedagogy when it had to make its terms with this same conception of mind.

At the outset it will appear plain that the metaphysical affiliations of the Herbartian psychology were farther removed from the psychology springing out of the theory of organic evolution than were those of Froebel. While Froebel's formulas were based upon the conception of an evolving Absolute they were at least couched in terms of development and accepted the mind as part of a growing universe. This made the work of pruning of Froebel's psychology comparatively slight that it might fall in with a theory of mind based on organic evolution. The Herbartian psychology was, on the contrary, an extreme example of an intellectualistic procedure. The reals, which Herbart posited as the starting points of minds, had no more demonstrable existence than the soul of the old faculty psychology. They were taken for granted as the minimum assumption necessary to get a start, — a basis for what Herbart considered to be the principal business of psychology, namely, to describe how the mind operated. From the point following the initial assumption regarding the original nature of mind, Herbart worked out an associationist type of psychology which was concerned chiefly with exhibiting the way in which ideas coalesced, how they formed into certain apperception masses, how they interpenetrated and built up general notions or concepts, and finally how the massing of selected ideas formed the character of the individual and eventuated in conduct appropriate to his character.

The intellectualistic character of Herbart's psychology affected in a measure every interpretation that he made of a mental process, and to that extent criticism and revision in some degree were essential before his positions could be accepted for a pedagogical system based upon the biological relationships of mind. In the long run, however, it is rather surprising to note how much of Herbart's pedagogy was adaptable to the demands of the new psychology and how little change in it was necessary for use under the new psychological auspices.

To begin with, the general doctrine of apperception as the basis of learning could be carried over almost without change. William James had some genial sport with the Herbartians over the extremes to which they carried their classifications of apperception, and he rebuked roundly the tendencies of certain publicity-seeking publishers and authors for adopting patent-medicine methods of advertising this mysterious quantity as able to cure all educational ills; but he accepted the process as a well-known fact of mental life. "Every impression that comes from without," he said, "whether it be a sentence which we hear, an object of vision, or an effluvium which assails our nose, no sooner enters our consciousness than it is drafted off in some determinate direction or other, making connection with the other materials already there, and finally producing what we call our reaction. It is the fate of every impression thus to fall into a mind preoccupied with memories, ideas, and interests, and by these it is taken in. We dispose of it according to our acquired possibilities, be they few or many, in the way of 'ideas.' This way of taking in the object is the process of apperception."[1] In general it may be said that the importance of apperception in the Herbartian pedagogy passed over with scarcely any modification into that based on the biological conception of mind.

The Herbartian interpretation of interest had suffered somewhat from the intellectualistic postulates upon which it was based. It will be recalled that Herbart and his followers made a great deal of the importance for learning of interest, and defined interest as the state of mind necessary for the reception of new ideas. Learning occurred when the ideas already in the mind were excited and aroused and hospitable to new impressions related to them. The Herbartians were sound in their pedagogical applications of this when they denied that interest was something to be spread over a hateful task to camouflage it, or a bait that was put out to catch the unsuspecting pupil. Interest, they said, was a more fundamental thing than that and dependent upon the real attitude of the learner. He must be receptive and his attitude must depend upon the real correspondence of the thing to be learned with his present mental equipment. In other words genuine interest depended upon the recognition on the part of the pupil that the thing offered was a thing wanted.

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[1] William James, *Talks to Teachers*, pp. 157–158.

The new psychology was able to give a much more convincing definition of interest than the Herbartian by referring it to the executive nature of mind. Mind is an instrument of control. The organism is reaching out to get what it wants from its environment. What it wants *is* its interest for the time being. Interest is a function of planning, doing, seeking, desiring. The surest way to secure interest in school is to provide an environment or setting in which there are things that a child wishes to do, whether in the way of satisfying his curiosity or in line with a score of other tendencies the springs of which are within him.

No other formula of interest has ever been presented which disposes so well of the theoretical conflict between interest and effort. The child committed to a purpose, seeking an objective, will encounter difficulties in his way which call for continuance in effort or application against his more immediate feelings. The test of the child's interest — perhaps ultimately of his character — is his ability to proceed through difficulties and fatigue to the objective originally set. Effort put forth in the pursuit of a purpose, as the concomitant of the determination to reach a certain goal, is natural and to be expected in any worthwhile process of education. Out of such self-control comes mental and moral growth. Much of the effort on the part of school children, which to a certain way of interpreting education is a special means of grace, is wholly gratuitous because based originally upon an uninteresting and possibly worthless set of school tasks. Such effort is not educative, but wasteful. It results in evasion and dawdling and deterioration of character.

To be sure, much remains to be said of the purposes which children may be expected to accept as their own. There is a real danger that in such a description of interest and effort as has been given above a soft pedagogy may be constructed that excuses a child from undertaking the legitimate next steps in his growth. Such a danger does not inhere, however, in the definition of interest, but in its interpretation and application.

That the Herbartian conception of will as the whole self acting is consistent with the newer psychology is shown in the fact that some contemporary psychologists are able to dispense altogether with the word "will." Choice is said to follow upon a dramatic representation of the results of alternative course of conduct. As each presentation is made the whole self reacts to it as pleasing or displeasing. The alternative which has the advantage tends to recur more frequently and stays longer before the mind, while the alternative which is to fail appears less frequently and has its hearing for a progressively shorter time. Finally the latter alternative fails to appear at all and the former is in possession of the field. It has proved to be the plan of activity which accords most fully with the self as a whole. It is the choice of the self and, with no alternative blocking the way, it is carried over into action. This interpretation of will as the whole self acting is substantially that of the Herbartian school. It implies, as did the Herbartian pedagogy, that the control of a child's conduct is ultimately related to the building up in him of a certain experience.

There is an important difference, however, between the Herbartian conception of character development and that fostered by the new psychology. The former described character development almost exclusively in terms of ideas and experiences, because it had no other quantities to offer. The psychology upon which contemporary theory of education is based, on the other hand, recognizes differences of character as in part biologically, or hereditarily, determined. There is something in the child's endowment at birth which has a lot to do with how he will respond to difficulties, how persistent and reliable he is, how he will, in short, react to his environment. It further emphasizes the importance of actual contacts, moral situations, moral decisions, in the upbuilding of character. If its general educational formula is, We learn to do by doing, the corollary of that formula for character education is, We learn to do right by doing right. No amount of talk about morality, no amount of inculcation of moral principles, can take the place of moral habits concretely worked out, in situations that call for moral choices and social-minded acts.

The dynamic psychology has also been the ready vehicle for the continuation of the Herbartian interest in organizing the curriculum in terms of unities of subject-matter and in correlating materials from diverse subject-matter fields. Whereas the Herbartians, however, recognized unities as of ideas or experiences, the tendency of current educational procedure is to organize the school program, at least for the lower grades, about comprehensive and continuing activities, such as the building of a village, or about some aspect of social life, such as, how a city solves the problem of milk supply. In any such unit of work there are elements of construction, drawing, reading, and writing, and the use of numbers, and information is inevitably introduced which could be described as history, as science, as civics, as economics, or as ethics. But the continuing core of some central interest is what provides the logic of engaging in a wide range of activities and of introducing information or ideas of the greatest variety.

The Development of Psychological Tests and Measurements. — An extremely important development of the new psychology has been the provision of psychological tests and measurements which give more exact information regarding the quantities involved in the educative process than have previously been available. This movement has affected education at many points, and its possible future applications can as yet hardly be sensed.

Just as the new psychology had its beginning in the organic theory of evolution, proposed by Charles Darwin, just so the new effort to measure mind more exactly took its point of departure from the significance which Darwin attached to small individual differences. Francis Galton (1822–1911) first applied statistics to the study of heredity and the original nature of man. This work was further developed by Karl Pearson. Credit for the first American effort to carry the statistical study of the nature of man still further is to be given to J. McKeen Cattell, who, in his psychological laboratory in Columbia University, refined and extended the methods which Galton had originated. It is, however, Edward L. Thorndike, one of Cattell's pupils, who has done more than any one else to apply statistical methods and quantitative description to the traits of human nature. The publication in 1910, by Thorndike, of his *Hand Writing Scale* marks the beginning of a long and fruitful series of efforts, in which many have participated, to prepare standard measurements of educational practices which may be applied in evaluating the work of pupils in the schools.

Still another line of development of mental measurement may be recognized as beginning with the efforts of Binet and Simon, in France, to provide a means of deciding what school children were defective and unable to profit by ordinary school work. In 1905 they published their first series of tests, which three years later appeared in more extended form as a scale for the measurement of intelligence. The work of Binet and Simon was adapted for use in the United States by Dr. Henry Goddard in 1908, who applied the scale in testing the mental qualities of the sub-normal children at his institution at Vineland, New Jersey. The Binet-Simon scale was revised in 1912 by Terman and Childs, and in 1916 the Stanford revision of the previous work appeared. Since that time there have appeared many individual and group tests that have given the teacher and the supervisor an instrument for the more exact rating of the ability of pupils than could by any other means be possible.

An aspect of the mental measuring movement which has been of great significance to education has been the long series of subject-matter tests which have enabled teachers to discover the results of instruction. Among the earliest of these were the Stone arithmetic test, published in 1908, the Thorndike Hand Writing Scale in 1910, and the arithmetic tests prepared by Dr. Stuart A. Courtis. This field has been richly developed by hundreds of competent workers, until today almost any phase of the curriculum is provided with a standard system of measuring the results of instruction.

As is but natural in a development so new as that of mental testing, there has been considerable controversy as to the educational value of such measurements. On the positive side there can be little doubt that the whole enterprise of education has been made more accurate and more intelligent as the result of the new information which has been made available through the psychological tests and measurements. It has made possible the grouping of children according to their ability. It has given a check on modes of instruction. It has made possible a statement of minimum essentials for various stages of the school program. On the other hand, complaint has been made that for the things most worth measuring no scale has yet been provided. While the student's ability to add and subtract and spell have been measured with great accuracy, it is said nothing has as yet been provided which enables one to measure the elements of character and appreciation. Some students of education have felt that the main use that has been made of the new psychological measurements has been to reduce to still greater system the old machine-like régime of the schools, which it has been the desire of progressive educators to get away from.

The rejoinder from those interested in the testing movement has been to ask for more time for the development of the type of test desired. Already significant progress has been made in the creation of tests to measure appreciation and moral characteristics, and there is much optimism regarding the future possibilities in this field. As to the objection that the standard tests have been used in a way inimical to the best type of teaching and learning, the rejoinder has been that they need not be used by teachers and supervisors as implied.

Whatever the criticism that may be brought upon the use of tests and measurements, it may be said that probably the most critical voices are those of men and women who are engaged in still further perfecting exact instruments for measuring school achievement and mental qualities. The fact is that these measurements are being universally used, and the ground may safely be taken that an instrumentality which has been found indispensable in so many relationships will be progressively refined and improved.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What psychologies, with the pedagogical systems built upon them, came into conflict with a new and more authoritative psychology after 1890 in the United States?
2. What aspects of the new biological psychology led to a stress upon the activity factor in the school?
3. Why was it comparatively easy to adjust the kindergarten theory to the interpretations of the new psychology? What elements of the Froebelian philosophy had to be eliminated?
4. Why did the adaptations which kindergarten theory and practice underwent make it a more influential factor in American education?
5. What aspects of Herbartian psychology, together with their pedagogical implications, could be taken over with little adaptation by the new psychology?
6. Contrast Professor Dewey's interpretation of interest with that of the Herbartian psychology.
7. What important difference in the conception of character development exists between the Herbartian and the new biological psychology? Which conception would attach more importance to inculcation of moral precepts? Which to the creation of life situations in which moral judgments have to be made?

REFERENCES

The student who desires to follow in closer detail the reconstruction of the kindergarten will find the following books useful: G. STANLEY HALL, *Educational Problems*, Vol. I, pp. 1–41, Appleton; JOHN DEWEY, *School and Society*, particularly part V, which discusses *Froebel's Educational Principles*, University of Chicago Press; FREDERICK BURK and CAROLINE FREAR BURK, *A Study of Kindergarten Problems*, Teachers College Bureau of Publications; and WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK, *Froebel's Kindergarten Principles Critically Examined*, Macmillan.

Professor Dewey's conception of the meaning of play and work in the educative process is found in his *Democracy and Education*, Chapter XV, Macmillan. The most thoroughgoing analysis of the meaning of interest in relation to effort is found in John Dewey, *Interest and Effort in Education*, Houghton Mifflin. Professor Dewey has criticized the Herbartian steps of the recitation in Chapter XV of *How We Think*, Heath.

W. C. Bagley, *The Educative Process*, Macmillan, contains much material which represents the modified Herbartianism that influenced American education after 1900. The same influence is exhibited in George D. Strayer, *A Brief Course in the Teaching Process*, Macmillan.

The early developments in mental tests and measurements are described in R. Pintner, *Intelligence Testing, Methods and Results*, Holt, 1923, and in I. L. Kandel, Editor, *Twenty-Five Years of American Education*, pp. 117–138.

CHAPTER XXIV

EMBODYING PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL THEORY IN SCHOOL PRACTICE

For some time this narrative has been dealing with theories of psychology and instruction. It is plain that enough suggestions were current in the United States during the generation following the Civil War to afford the basis for decided improvements in education. There was very general discontentment among educational leaders with the mechanical memoriter learning of textbook assignments and the repressive discipline which had come to be characteristic of the graded school system. Here then were the will-to-do and blue-prints of a plan for betterment. By what stages was the new school made a concrete reality? Who were the workmen and what was the progress of the job?

Colonel Francis Wayland Parker. — Among those who experimented with new ways and means of education in the hope of embodying an ideal, no one deserves a higher place than Colonel Francis Wayland Parker. Born in a small New Hampshire village in 1837, working on a farm, attending district school and academy and teaching school in turn, he was, at the outbreak of the Civil War, the principal of the school system at Carrollton, Illinois. He enlisted at once and went through the entire conflict in active service, coming out with the rank of colonel. When peace came he went back to teaching, in which he had a native and unquenchable interest.

In 1868 he was called to Dayton, Ohio. He shortly afterward became head of the normal training school at that place and in 1871 he was made assistant superintendent of the Dayton school system. In every one of his early teaching endeavors he had shown himself to be an unusual schoolmaster. Patrons found it hard to understand a teacher who ruled without severity and who had small patience with the traditional standards of excellence as consisting in the mechancial mastery of textbooks.

In 1872 this young teacher, who was by nature a rebel and an idealist, went to Berlin, where he spent two and a half years in the study of philosophy, psychology, history, and education. Here he became familiar with the theories and practices of Pestalozzi, Diesterweg, and Froebel. It has been said that he learned nothing of Herbart's pedagogical system while in Germany, but if he did not directly come in contact with it, his later educational activities showed tendencies which were decidedly Herbartian. It was Froebel, however, whom Parker accepted as the great educational leader. Toward the close of his distinguished labors for better schools, Colonel Parker said that the kindergarten had been the inspiration of all his work. There is little to indicate, however, that Colonel Parker accepted the metaphysical theories which surrounded the kindergarten. He was never a man to be concerned over theoretical niceties. He sensed the fundamental truth that was present in the kindergarten and caught its spirit. With him the next step was to try to work out that spirit, and in so far as possible to apply the procedures of the kindergarten to the common schools.

The Quincy New Departure. — In 1875 Colonel Parker returned to the United States and stepped into the interesting educational situation at Quincy, Massachusetts, which has already been referred to in these pages (see p. 429 f.). In that suburb of Boston the school committee had become convinced that the pupils under the existing system were not learning in a way that caused their school accomplishments to carry over into real life. The effect of mechanical learning by heart ended right within the school. "All was smatter, veneering, cram." The committee determined to throw overboard the entire existing program of studies and start building anew on a more fundamental basis. It was at this juncture that they had their attention called to Colonel Parker and became convinced that he was the man best fitted to work out the sharp discontent of the school committee into a practical reconstruction of the schools.

The work which Parker did at Quincy between 1875 and 1880 became the most talked of, most written about, thing in American education at the time. This interest was achieved partly because of the articles written by Charles Francis Adams, a member of the school committee, and the addresses which Mr. Adams delivered on the "Quincy New Departure." But there must have been something extremely significant being accomplished at Quincy to draw over thirty thousand visitors to the Quincy schools in the three-year period 1878–1880.

Parker began his work of educational reconstruction by tearing out the network of partitions and passageways represented by the traditional school subjects. He abolished reading, spelling, arithmetic, geography, etc., as separate school subjects and had them reappear as useful accomplishments and interesting aspects of an experience which was a united, interrelated whole. On the side of discipline he abolished rules, prizes, demerits, marks, and the entire repressive apparatus which bribed or threatened children into being industrious and orderly.

In the place of this repressive system of school control he worked with his teachers to build up a sense of a real community in which the pupils learned to conduct themselves as thoughtful, coöperative, public-spirited citizens.

The best account of the new school conditions brought into existence under the leadership of Colonel Parker is told by Miss Lelia E. Patridge in *The Quincy Methods Illustrated.* Miss Patridge wrote her account from long-continued first-hand observation. From the pages of her book we gain the impression of a truly remarkable change from the traditional school spirit and practice. The fundamental principle of the new system was the introduction into the school of a rich and genuine experience as the foundation of the school arts. This, after all, was little different from the ideal expressed by Pestalozzi and in varying degrees of success applied by himself and his followers, but any real embodiment of a principle so fundamental is unusual and noteworthy.

The teacher in the Quincy schools began through providing a natural learning environment in which the native tendencies of the child had opportunity for self-expression. Objects were talked about, drawn, moulded in clay, and when full familiarity with the thing had been achieved, its representation in language forms was undertaken. Learning to read and write under such conditions was not a hateful task, but the easy acquisition of a prized accomplishment. The rich objective experiences and the familiar oral expressions led the way to reading, writing, and spelling as a form of self-expression, just as drawing and moulding in clay had been natural forms of self-expression. Script writing and reading went hand in hand and preceded by some time the use of printed matter. Phonic exercises were introduced in an unobtrusive way to give the children better command over the mastery of words, but spelling as a separate subject was unknown. Children learned to spell, as a phase of accurate writing, words which represented perfectly familiar thoughts. The children and the teacher improvised, in close relationship to oral exercises based on some objective experience, the reading lessons from day to day. The children wrote about what they knew, just as they talked about what they knew.

After the children had acquired a certain facility in reading print they were encouraged to use their new power for the purpose of getting information. Their reading took them into the reading materials easily available in each classroom and into the public library. They read to get information upon some topic in which the class was engaged and returned to report the result of their explorations. Their reading involved a wide range of good literature; it took them into the fields of history, geography, and science. The experiences which the traditional organization had marked off as separate subjects became just one, namely, reading, and the oral and written report upon what was read.

The work in arithmetic was likewise based upon concrete realities. The quantitative relationship runs through all experience and a certain mastery over it is as natural and necessary as speech. The number work began with real things and throughout was a mastery, in graded degrees of difficulty, of quantitative experiences encountered in concrete settings. It was actively related to the object lessons which were the starting point of the entire school experience, and it was carried on into the more complicated relationships of geography and science.

The rich objective experience provided for the children represented a wide range of elementary science. Botany, zoölogy, physiology, geography, geology, meteorology, physics, chemistry — all were represented in the observations which were the basis of the curriculum. What the children saw, they measured, counted, drew, moulded in clay, talked about, read about, wrote about. They went out-of-doors after a rain and returned to reproduce in sand the physiographical conditions that entered into a river system. They observed their neighborhood and reproduced its contours in clay. The chief end of the teacher was to provide a rich, stimulating, and real environment upon which children were to react in natural, satisfying, and educative ways. Nor were the social and ethical aspects of existence neglected. History, political geography, civics, elementary ethics, anthropology, and other social studies found their place in the drama that unrolled itself day by day before the pupils.

Colonel Parker's Work in Chicago. — Colonel Parker resigned his position in Quincy in 1880 to become one of the supervisors of schools in Boston, but in 1883 he accepted an invitation to become principal of the Cook County Normal School at Englewood, Illinois, which later became a part of the city of Chicago. He remained in this position until June, 1899, when he became head of the Chicago Institute founded for educational experimentation by Mrs. Emmons Blaine. In the spring of 1901, the Chicago Institute was incorporated in the University of Chicago as the University's school of education. Colonel Parker had hardly more than begun his work under the auspices of the University of Chicago before he died in the spring of 1902. Thus for almost twenty years, the mature and most productive years of his life, Colonel Parker was identified with Chicago, and for most of that period as the head of the Cook County Normal School. It was in the practice school of the Normal that he, in coöperation with an able and enthusiastic corps of teachers, endeavored to develop and improve the methods and attitudes which had gone into the " New Departure " at Quincy.

At the outset he established a kindergarten as a part of the practice facilities of the Normal. From examination of the course of study for the kindergarten as printed in 1895, it seems to have been, at least up to that time, a pretty orthodox Froebelian kindergarten. In 1883 he also introduced constructive handwork as a definite part of the curriculum. The manual training room was in the basement, equipped only with a few rude benches and some tools. He had no definite plan of the work that was to be undertaken, but he had a strong conviction that constructive work was an important aspect of the education of the boy and girl and had faith to experiment with a program. The practice school of the Normal was one of the earliest pioneers in industrial education in the grades.

Another innovation, which represented an effort to extend and systematize the object lessons which had been so prominent a part of the work at Quincy, was the establishment of a course in nature study. The spirit of this instruction was well described in the words of Colonel Parker when he said: " It was found that laboratory work was not close enough to the children; nature refuses to be viewed in bits and rags. A leaf or a twig would not do; the child must have the whole tree, with the land around, or, still better, the forest. Field excursions, with their wealth of observation, were early introduced. Woods, swamps, and the lakeshore were investigated with pencil or brush in hand."[1] Under the leadership of Wilbur I. Jackman the work in nature study was highly developed and exerted a large influence on courses of study in elementary schools all over the country.

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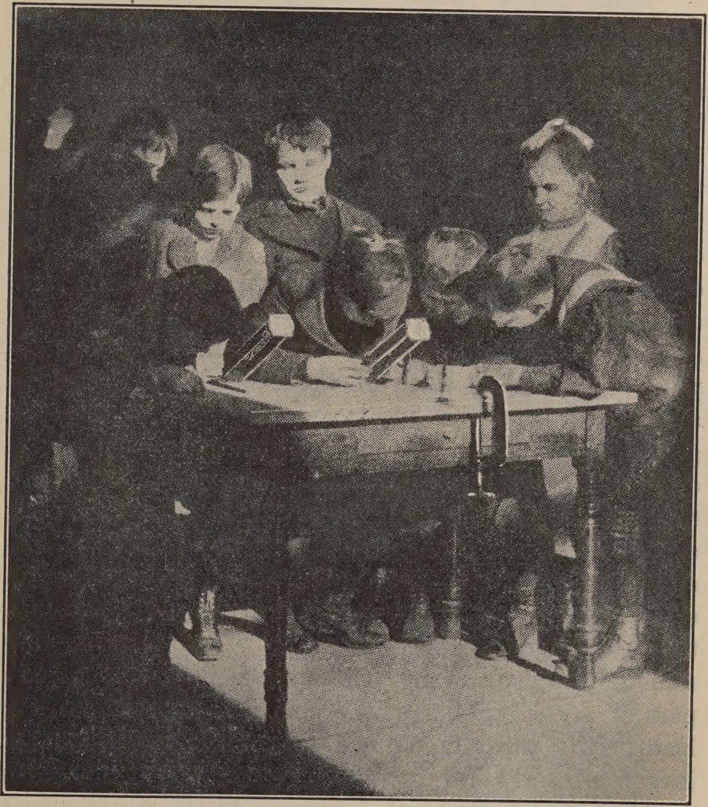
[1] See *The Elementary School Teacher*, II, 566.

Shortly after undertaking the new work at the Cook County Normal School, Colonel Parker came to realize the great support which could be given his ideas through the utilization of a printing press. Accordingly a press



FIFTH GRADE CHILDREN IN THE CHICAGO INSTITUTE FINDING NOON SHADOW AND DECLINATION OF THE SUN

Taken from *Course of Study*, I, p. 515.

was installed and became an extremely important agency in helping to make real and concrete the teaching and learning of the school. Thus, for example, the children in their reading work could not only improvise their reading lessons and write them out on the blackboard, as they had done at Quincy, but they could compose their own readers, print them as separate sheets, combine these sheets into books, and bind them for permanent possession.

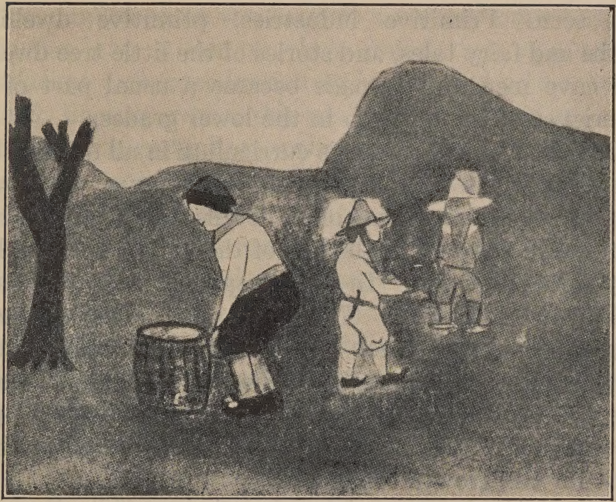
In the practice school of the Normal, as had been the case at Quincy, the main consideration seems to have been the provision of a richly educative environment for the pupil. Science, geography, mathematics, and history provided most of the content of the curriculum, but in connection with all the content-subjects the art modes of expression, modeling, painting, and drawing, were employed. The work of the school was arranged in terms of language, reading, arithmetic, vocal music, geography, science, history and literature, art, manual training, and physical training. Each of these subjects appeared in all grades, from the first to the eighth. In the first grade, for instance, the work in geography consisted in object lessons and language work about pebbles and sand; effect of rain on the school grounds, sedimentation; winds, clouds, dew, frost; changes of seasons; moon's phases, distribution of seeds, local vegetation; change of animal covering on account of change of temperature; and location of places described in stories, — to mention only some of the geographical conceptions that were made a part of the experience of the children. For its work in history the third grade had stories of inventions and inventors, early history of Chicago, stories from Norse mythology, and *Robinson Crusoe*. In this way, using appropriate materials, or what were thought to be such, for each stage of maturity, a rich range of experience was

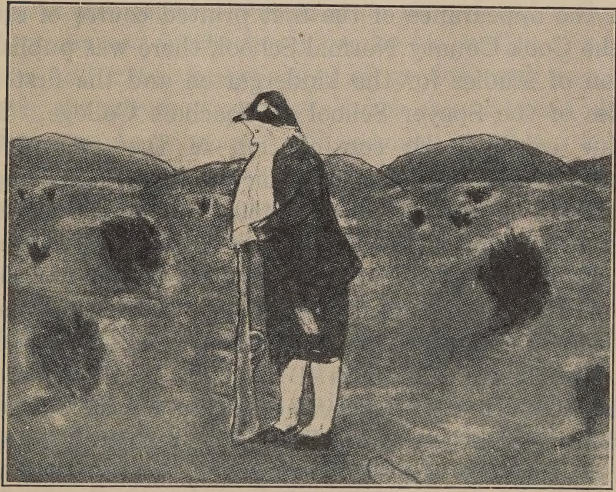
Making a Relief Map in the Chicago Institute
Taken from *Course of Study*, I, No. 5, frontispiece.

woven into the experience of the child. These experiences were the material, in large degree, for the exercise of the arts of language, reading, writing, spelling, and correct oral expression. As in Quincy, there were no formal lessons in spelling and no adopted readers. The readers that were in use were more for practice and tests of skill in reading than they were the subject-matter of that skill. The children observed, talked about, and wrote about the materials that entered into their instruction in science, geography, and history. They drew and modeled and painted the same objective experiences.

This close connection between the expressive arts and the content subjects constituted a very legitimate and vital sort of " concentration " of studies. The curriculum of the practice school, however, exhibited an even more ambitious effort to introduce unity into the school experience. Arithmetic was developed, for example, not only with reference to its own subject-matter and skills, but was also employed in connection with every other subject where quantitative relationships were discoverable. Thus, the sixth grade studied fractions, decimals, commission, compound interest, and so forth, and in addition applied their arithmetic in comparing the areas of continents and political divisions, in estimating the amount of silt deposited by a given river in a given time, in studying the specific gravity of minerals, and in estimating the contents of bins and cisterns, to mention only a few of the number relationships that came within their notice. This interpenetration of all the subjects within one another was the Cook County Normal's response to the concept of correlation and concentration of studies.

A further influence of the movement was seen in the work in history, manual training, literature, and the art subjects, in all of which the influence of the culture epochs





Drawings in Colored Chalk Made by Students of the Fifth Grade in the Chicago Institute to Illustrate the Story of Rip Van Winkle

Taken from *Course of Study*, I, p. 882.

was seen. Primitive industries, primitive dwellings, myths and fairy tales, and stories of the little tree dwellers and cave men and nomads became a usual part of the experience of the children in the lower grades.

It is not claimed that this curriculum in all of its details was sound. It was experimental and was undergoing constant revision. Some of its details would seem to have been badly adapted to the age of the children with whom they were employed. In some respects it was overloaded and overcomplicated. The effort at correlation seems to have been carried too far at times for the attainment of the very ends sought. The curriculum, however, was the embodiment of a rich, varied, and developing experience, — a stimulating and responsive environment for the growth of children.

Progress under Herbartian Auspices. — Just ten years after the appearance of the first printed course of study for the Cook County Normal School, there was published a plan of studies for the kindergarten and the first five grades of the Speyer School of Teachers College. This outline exhibits the continuation of the constructive interest, which had been the principal reason for being of Teachers College (see pp. 458–460), but it also contains a strong infusion of the Herbartian element. The course of study in question[1] had been prepared under the leadership of Professor Frank M. McMurry, at the time one of the leading exponents in the United States of the educational principles of Herbart.

This course of study as outlined shows that in the Speyer School at that time the wall which had existed between the kindergarten and the elementary school had been removed and the child's progress from the first, through the second, kindergarten year and into the lower grades was accomplished on the basis of a unitary school experience, the later stages of which found their appropriate foundation and introduction in the earlier. One of the through lines on which this union was accomplished was a study of surrounding occupations and primitive life. This was carried on, in increasing thoroughness and difficulty, through the two kindergarten years and the first two grades. Nature study was a second thoroughfare of experience which led upward over the same period of years. The hand work, which was given an important place in the curriculum throughout, began with adaptations of the gifts of Froebel in the kindergarten and progressed into a great variety of constructive activities with brush and pencil, clay and wood, sewing, weaving, raffia work, etc. Nature study was begun in a very elementary way in the kindergarten through excursions to parks and woods where natural objects were named and collected, and progressed in the lower grades to studies of typical plants and animals, processes of growth and metamorphosis, the germination of seeds, the care of house plants, and the study of plants and animals as related to surrounding occupations and primitive life. The number experience was developed almost entirely in connection with the materials used in construction work, as number relationships occurred in the study of surrounding occupations and primitive life, or as the use of number was called for in the on-going life of the school and the business in which the children were engaged. In English the progress was from a rich variety of nature stories, fairy tales, myths, folk and Bible stories in the kindergarten, in which the children were enabled to develop in their understanding and use of oral language, to beginning reading and writing, with copying dictation and easy composition. Throughout the four years considerable time was given to singing and rhythmical movement and an elaborate program of physical exercises and games was introduced to provide for physical growth and relaxation.

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[1] See *Teachers College Record*, IV, 1–59.

If we turn to examine in some detail the nature of the school experience provided in the Speyer School under the general captions named above, it will be seen that the keynote was richness, concreteness, and activity. In the first grade, for example, in the study of surrounding occupations the following topics were taken up: the home and its immediate surroundings, the street, real and imaginary buildings, a vegetable and fruit garden, a neighborhood grocery store, the ice industry, a bakery, a butcher-shop, and a dairy store. During the weeks when the children were concentrating attention, for example, on the neighborhood grocery store, with which they were presumably familiar, they represented the store by means of blocks, made the floor plans and walls to scale, and located the counters, refrigerator, and cash-stand. They stocked the store and placed the stock, bought and sold in play, made actual use of the common measures, such as pint, quart, and pound, tied knots, wrapped bundles, and entered into shrewd discussions of the quality of the apples, potatoes, and bananas offered for sale. The unit related to the dairy store tended to take the class a little farther afield as it naturally involved discussions of the source of the milk supply, its delivery in the city, the care of milk, and its transportation. A visit to a dairy barn was a natural step in this development, as was the construction with blocks of the plan of a dairy barn. The care and feeding of cows, in summer and winter, a visit to a feed store, the making of butter, the judging of good butter, the recognition of cream and skimmed milk, and the making of cheese were logically related aspects of the total scientific and social situation that developed about the center of the dairy store.

The wide range of constructive activities carried on in the early grades has perhaps been sufficiently indicated above, but it may be shown how in the work with wood, for example, the constructive activities supported the work done in the study of occupations, the English work, and the nature study. The pupils made articles of furniture in very thin wood, a fence for the garden, a trellis, small rakes, and digging-sticks; they represented their garden in sand and placed these articles in it. They made a wooden dasher for a wide-mouthed bottle which served as a churn for a butter-making experiment; also a flail, a weather vane, counters and boxes for the grocery store, and such toys as boats, tops, wagons, and so forth.

No special time in the program was devoted to number work, which was incidental to the other activities of the school. The children learned to count and read numbers to one hundred in order to be able to find the page in the books they used or to read the thermometer and other quantitative instruments. They learned a few easy fractions, and secured much concrete experience with the measures used in the grocery store, in the discussion of cattle feeding, and in other aspects of a wide experience.

The work in English was centered about stories that were really literature, — a long list of household and nursery favorites that ought to be a part of every child's heritage. Some of the more striking poems were learned by heart, but most of the exercise was the oral reproduction of these stories by the children and their dramatization. The beginning of the art of reading was made in connection with words taken from the stories told or from the other concrete experiences of the school day. Phonics was introduced at the end of six weeks or later as an aid to the children in learning to read and toward the end of the year a number of primers and first readers, of which only the best selections were chosen, were introduced for practice and drill. Hand in hand with the recognition of words went exercises in writing, these too being closely related to the general experiences of the pupils.

Passing on to the work outlined by Professor McMurry for the third to the fifth grades, it is observed that four substantial content-subjects furnished the experience within which the pupils for those years were to grow. History, geography, nature study, and literature ran throughout the three years and in some degree were interrelated. A large part of the literature for a given grade, for instance, dealt with the topics taken up during that year in history, geography, and nature study. To some degree the nature study dealt with plants and animals useful in primitive environments and thus supplemented the study of primitive life. The same interdependence occurred in places between the history and the geography work; the history topics for the fifth year were exploration and early American colonization, while the geography work for that year gave the pupil a general acquaintance with the earth as a whole, as a background for the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century explorations, and began a detailed study of North America, the scene of the early colonization efforts.

Accompanying these four content studies, a rich variety of handwork was called for, this, too, being related as far as possible to the experiences introduced in connection with history, geography, literature, or nature study. The mathematics appropriate for each year was independently organized and conducted, with adequate provision for drill. The course of study in arithmetic showed a critical and selective attitude. Techniques and problems that had little practical value had been eliminated and there was a tendency shown to unite geometry in its simpler elements with the work in arithmetic.

The analysis of the Speyer School curriculum has perhaps by now become a bit tiresome, but it seems desirable to continue it a little farther in order to indicate the basis of criticisms that were directed against it and the whole method of curriculum organization which it represents. The fifth grade, as has been said, studied as its history assignment early exploration and American colonization. It learned about Cortez, De Soto, Raleigh, and Drake. In geography, at the same time, the world as a whole, its movements and zones, the general outlines of the continents and oceans, and the great trade routes, were taken up, and it is easy enough to see a correlation here between the history work and the geography lessons. Both these aspects of experience have much in common. The continuation of the history work to include the story of early American settlement and of the geography work to deal with the geography of North America likewise exhibits a certain unity of experiences.

When, however, one turns to the work planned in nature study, there seems to be no particular reason why the pupils should be asked at that particular time to be interested in learning about corn, coffee, tobacco, tea, burdock, ragweed, milkweed, thistle, dandelion, common flowers, cotton, sugar cane, the fur-bearing animals, oyster, clam, whale, crayfish, lobster, coverings of animals, and uses of the same for human clothing, *ways of taking cold, also ways of avoiding colds.* In a general way, of course, corn, coffee, tobacco, and tea enter into the early voyages of exploration and into a discussion of the great world routes of trade. Sir Walter Raleigh smoked tobacco and tobacco affected in an important way the early economic life of the southern colonies. Then there was the Boston tea party and the Indians at Plymouth taught the Pilgrims how to raise Indian corn. It might be objected that the use of these products in the history experiences was in no way dependent on a knowledge of their botanical peculiarities. And why the milkweed? Why the little homily on how to keep from taking cold?

The handwork outlined for the fifth year exhibits a bewildering variety. Beginning with the representation, by means of clay and wood, of an early New England farm and a southern plantation, it passes on in rapid strides to the model of a coal mine in Pennsylvania, a canal lock, a cotton gin, and a windmill. It touches in passing the industrial processes that were of interest to the colonists, such as bleaching, dyeing, soap and candle making, the making of cider, vinegar, yeast, and rag carpet; gives advice about the frequency of changing clothing and bedding; makes experiments concerning the best soap for toilet and laundry purposes; gives a lesson on laundry operations; provides a bit of practice in patching and darning, recommends the proper way to stock an emergency box, and gives information as to the proper way to prepare a mustard plaster. The last half year is devoted to domestic science — the preparation of foods and the care of a home.

The same catholicity of selection is shown in the works to be read as English. General interests are represented in the *Tanglewood Tales*, the *Wonder Book*, *American Poets*, *Water Babies*, the *King of the Golden River*, and *Lays of Ancient Rome*. The historical and geographical interests are supported by such titles as *Boys of '76*, *Home Life in Colonial Days*, *Heroes of the Middle West*, and

Knickerbocker's History of New York. The scientific note is sounded in *Squirrels and Other Fur-Bearers.*

It is seen that a part of the curriculum outlined by Professor McMurry holds together very well, but that for a good part of the material suggested there seems to be little reason why that particular selection should be made rather than some other. Perhaps it is not necessary nor desirable that all the subjects should reinforce one another and represent a unitary experience for the learner, but the question will be raised as to whether or not, either for the school program as a whole for each year or within each subject-matter field, there should be a connecting logic, arising either out of the demands of the subject itself or out of the interests of the learner, that may serve as a basis for the selection and the arrangement of subject-matter. Is a subject to be an arbitrary succession of incidents, facts, activities, concepts? Is it enough that the arrangement of a course of study pleases the person who makes it up? Or is it desirable that the materials of instruction should hold together in large unities?

John Dewey and the University Elementary School. — This question is one that has agitated the world of education for more than a generation and it continues to be at the focus of all discussions of the curriculum. It was Professor John Dewey who first made telling objection to the casual character or the forced relationships of much that was included even in such well-thought-out courses as have been described above. As head of the Department of Education in the University of Chicago, Professor Dewey was the director of the University Elementary School and it was there that he cogitated and experimented in the effort to discover a genuine basis for realism and unity in the school experience of the child. The early results of his work there are contained in *School and Society*, which appeared in 1900.

In order to get away from the characteristics of the education generally exemplified in the schools, with "its passivity of attitude, its mechanical measuring of children, its uniformity of curriculum and method," Dewey tried to discover an appropriate environment in which and by means of which the child would put into operation its natural equipment as a learning, growing being. He wished to keep out of this environment those characteristics which made the ordinary school unnatural, apart from life. The school was to be a place where children learned as a function of living naturally, in an environment selected and organized with reference to moral, intellectual, and physical development.

The most precious factor in education he saw to be what the child brought within himself. The child is born to be active, — manipulating his environment, modifying it to suit his ends. He is curious, — eager for new knowledge and receptive to information that falls in with his needs and desires. He takes delight in color, form, rhythm, and sound and wishes to express himself in song and language, and in artistic and dramatic representations. He is also a social being, born to make adjustments with his fellows and to enter into coöperative relationships with them.

With that sort of being to be educated, so full of impulses to be called out and directed, what experience is most appropriate for his self-activity? The answer to this question was not given completely and systematically by Professor Dewey in *School and Society*, but only tentatively and by example. He found the life of primitive peoples, as that life could be reproduced by the children, the most appropriate starting point, — appropriate because the activities of primitive life were already present in the child's desire to build a hut or to play at hunting with bow and arrow. The teacher's problem then became that of drawing out and carrying on to educative ends the activities so spontaneously entered into. The child's ideas of primitive weapons led to a more careful study of the stone which entered into the arrowhead and resulted in the examination of stones to see which would be most suitable to the purpose. The study of the iron age led to the desire to build a furnace to smelt iron, and this involved construction work and, before they were done with it, some study of pneumatics with reference to the draft and of chemistry with reference to combustion. The study of primitive peoples involved a study of the earth as providing the physical conditions necessary for their social life, which in turn were represented in maps and sand-molding. Summing up his estimate of this experience, Professor Dewey says: "The result, to my mind, justifies completely the conviction that children in a year of such work (of five hours a week altogether), get infinitely more acquaintance with the facts of science, geography, and anthropology than they get when information is the professed end and object, where they are simply set to learning facts in fixed lessons. As to discipline, they get more training of attention, more power of interpretation, of drawing inferences, of acute observation and continuous reflection, than if they were put to working out arbitrary problems simply for the sake of discipline."[1]

In his *School and Society* Professor Dewey illustrates the way in which the intellectual interest is led on from simple beginnings "to larger fields of investigation and the intellectual discipline that is the accompaniment of that research." An experiment in precipitating chalk, conducted with a tumbler, limewater, and a glass tube, led to consideration of the processes of rock formation. From that point the story turned to certain points of the geography of the United States, Hawaii, and Porto Rico and to effects which these geological formations had upon the lives of people. Thus was completed a circle of meaning involving at one and the same time the geological processes by which the earth was formed and modern industrial life.

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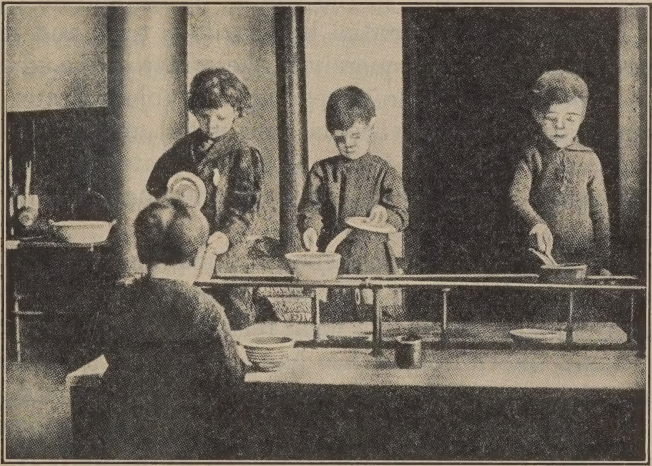
[1] See *School and Society*, Impression, 1916, p. 48.

The development of the artistic abilities of the children was to have its roots in the practical activities of the school. Artistry is a development out of artisanship. Art is the refinement of doing. The child weaving a mat is doing in a simple, elementary way the same sort of thing that is involved in the production of a beautiful tapestry on higher levels of taste and skill. The child drawing a picture of a forest is on the lowest stages of a process that leads to the production of a Corot landscape. It is the teacher's business to utilize this creative instinct and carry it onward to the highest point to which the child can follow.

Professor Dewey thought of the school as in the closest possible relationship with many-sided practical life and also with the university as the highest expression of taste and knowledge and science. It was to be part kitchen, and as such in direct connection with garden, park, and country. It was to be part textile room, and as such in direct connection with the home and with business. It was to be part shop, where the close connection between learning and the life of our industrial society could be maintained. The center of the school, leading directly into kitchen, dining room, textile room, and shop, indeed actually being part of them, was the library, where funded knowledge might be called upon in the solution of problems and the extension of experience. And in close relation with all of this were to stand the technical schools, scientific laboratories, and the university for the stimulation of accuracy and thoroughness, and for intellectual renewal.

The experiences with which the pupils were to be concerned were to be taken from real life. As such they were to possess reality and genuineness, calling for seriousness and workmanlike attitudes on the part of the pupils. The curriculum was not to be a thing patched up by adding something of one school subject here and something of another there, taking care that all should be represented, nor was it to be an artifact constructed in orderly fashion out of the matured and systematic knowledge of subject-matter specialists. It was to be a work of spiritual creation in which the teacher, alert, informed,



Preparing the Class Lunch in the University Elementary School
Taken from *The Elementary School Record,* I, 139.

and capable, was to be present in order to assist the child's need to do and to know.

School and Society is the statement of an educational ideal. Professor Dewey would probably be the first to disclaim the belief that it had been perfectly embodied in the work of the University Elementary School. But as an ideal, the notion of a school as depicted in *School and Society*, has had and continues to exert a tremendous influence in education in the United States and all over the world. It is influential because it is true, and it is true in that it places squarely in the center of the educative process the natural meaning of subject-matter in its relation to the intellectual and moral growth of the child, and in that it builds upon the natural, organic relationship which the school bears to social life as a whole.

Organizing School Experience in Comprehensive Units. — However difficult it may be of perfect embodiment, Dewey's statement of the ideal relationship between the child and the curriculum has had a tremendous influence upon the organization of courses of study. It has led to the giving up of forced schemes of correlation and to a new search for unity in school experience where it really could be found. Teachers have come to look for units of experience that are actual, life-sized sections of social existence, that are within the range of the children's interests and abilities, and that contain within themselves a sufficiently wide range of practical, informational, scientific, and aesthetic relationships.

As early as 1911, the writer observed in the Model School of the Western State Teachers College at Kalamazoo, Michigan, a teaching unit which possessed all these characteristics. The general theme was "A Study of Holland," which served as the connecting core for a large part of the work of the fall term. Perhaps it was only an accidental consideration that many of the children in the grade were of Dutch descent, but this factor served to intensify interest and made available a great many personal touches which in many environments would not have been possible. The study involved an understanding of the topography of Holland, its seaports, its dikes, its agriculture, its home industries, its foreign commerce. These factors of physiography and economic life were seen as interrelated and interdependent and also as responsible in large measures for many of the important facts of the history of Holland. Dutch history was introduced in its more general relationships to such large historical developments as the Protestant Reformation, the European colonization movements, and the settlement of New York in particular. The study of the homes, dress, and customs of Holland was the appropriate stimulus to the construction and the furnishing of a Dutch house, in which boys and girls coöperated. The art department assisted with plans for the decoration of the house and with patterns for Dutch costumes. The engineering problems involved in draining land below the sea level led the boys to make a concrete model of a dike, which of course involved the formula for mixing cement, and to construct a number of windmills. Stories of Holland life, such as *The Dutch Twins* by Lucy F. Perkins and *Hans Brinker and the Silver Skates*, were read and some of the more stirring tales of Dutch history were dramatized by the children.

In working out this project, all the resources of the library were employed. The children learned a great deal about the geography, the history, and the commercial life of Holland because they were interested in finding out about these things. They went to books to find answers to problems which had been raised and left unanswered in class. They sought out the formula for mixing cement. They employed a wide range of artistic activities. They had occasion for learning new applications of certain laws of science. In short, there was hardly a department of human interest that was not employed and stimulated in connection with the study of Holland.

A more recent example of the organization of a long-continuing and broadly comprehensive unit of work may be found in " A Study of Milk " as carried on in the Lincoln School of Teachers College under the guidance of Miss Florence Matthews.[1] The study began with a trip to a dairy farm, which stimulated a great many questions, to the answer of which a number of class periods were devoted. Such genuine questions were raised by the pupils as, How does grass in the cows change to milk? How much milk does a cow give? Why should there be so many windows in a cow barn? Why is the milk kept in cans on ice in the dairy house? The class next took a trip to a bottling plant and to a milk-receiving shed, after which followed another period of questions and answers bearing on such themes as, What is pasteurization? How hot must milk be to be pasteurized? Why is milk called the king of foods? What other animals besides cows give milk to people in other lands? Why does the cream come to the top on milk? How often are the cows inspected? Now it may be that not all of these questions came spontaneously and unprompted from the children, but they might have and they were the questions that needed to be raised for employing the experience which was directly before the pupils in order to realize its full possibilities.

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[1] See *Curriculum Making in an Elementary School*, by the Staff of the Lincoln Elementary School, New York City.

The children reproduced a good part of their experiences in constructive work, building a dairy barn and dairy house, a bottling plant, trucks to haul the milk to the train, and refrigerator cars in which the milk made the long trip to the city. They made a moving picture of the milk-production process, painting its various phases on paper, and rolling the sheets together into a reel, which was unwound before the audience to the accompaniment of the story as told by a pupil in the grade. The class wrote a milk play and composed songs about the cows, milking time, the milk train, and even about the mythical milkman whom they sometimes hear, but never see, and their music teacher helped them make up simple melodies to go with the words. They learned something about the breeds of cows and their care; about the composition and food values of milk; about bacteriology as it enters into the knowledge of how to preserve milk and make cheese and how to prevent the diseases of which the germs are likely to be carried in milk. They learned a great deal also about social organization and social interdependence and they made a brief excursion into the field of geography. They learned all this and a lot more and they learned it in a natural, genuine way, which exhibited the characteristics of continuity and thoughtfulness.

The possibilities of introducing the quality of reality into the schoolroom are not limited to what may be done through organizing the curriculum as far as may be in terms of comprehensive units. The auditorium, the gymnasium, the playground, the band, the school and class papers, the orchestra, the teams, the system of school government, and still other agencies may be enlisted in making the school a real bit out of life and in giving it a genuine life of its own.

It was said above that one of the effects of Dewey's statement of the ideal of the educative process was to prompt the organization of more comprehensive units of experience as the basis of the curriculum. It should now be said that it has also led to a realization that there are limitless opportunities of so conceiving, so selecting, and so presenting the materials of a subject, such as history, geography, civics, mathematics, that they represent a cross-section of life brought within the schoolroom. There probably comes a time, somewhere about the fifth or sixth grade, when the problem no longer is so much how to combine elements from various subject-matter fields about a continuing interest, but rather how to enable the vital development of a subject to do its part in enriching and reconstructing the experience of the pupil. It is no longer a question of introducing the related geography, for example, to the study of milk, or wheat, or leather, but one of giving geography a chance to do its bit in revealing the child's world to him. Good geography and good history and good mathematics are just as much real life as excursions to dairy barns or the construction of boats. In another way, the learning of the multiplication tables and the development of a reasonable degree of accuracy and speed in their use is life, just as the payment of taxes or the curing of a bad slice in golf is life. And so is a conscience with regard to accuracy in spelling or of neatness and legibility in handwriting. There is no reason why, in a situation so full of spontaneity and pleasure, the things necessary to rounding out a child's mastery of the school skills, which after all are continually being used in life, should not be gone out after with decision. Indeed, the implication of the true relationship between interest and effort calls for the pupil's workmanlike acceptance of the difficulties that hinder the realization of his comprehensive purposes.

Questions and Exercises

1. What European educator had the greatest influence on Col. Francis W. Parker? Can you trace this influence in Col. Parker's later work?

2. Describe the innovations introduced by Col. Parker at Quincy. Can you recognize in the Quincy methods the element of object-teaching which was at the time much the vogue in American education? If so, did the use of the object method at Quincy exhibit any novel and distinctive features?

3. Describe the changed conception of reading, spelling, and other school subjects which was exemplified at Quincy under Col. Parker.

4. Describe some of the more striking innovations which Col. Parker introduced into the Model School of the Cook County Normal. Have these innovations since then been commonly adopted in the more progressive schools?

5. What seems to you to have been the fundamental and guiding spirit of the Model School of the Cook County Normal?

6. The Speyer School curriculum, under Professor Frank McMurry's leadership, exhibited strong Herbartian influences. Can you discover, however, in that curriculum a fusion of the Herbartian with other progressive influences? If so, specify them in detail.

7. Give an estimate of the quality of the school experience in the Speyer School as indicated by the course of study.

8. Did the principle of correlation of studies favorably affect the quality of the school experience? At what point, if any, did it break down? What were the causes of this failure?

9. It would be extremely worthwhile for each student to read the first three chapters of Dewey's *The School and Society*.

10. What progressive influences which we have noted earlier in this book are discoverable in the University Elementary School? What special contributions did Professor Dewey make to the conception of a good school in that institution?

11. What change in the conception of correlation of studies resulted from Professor Dewey's theory and example? What basis is at present generally accepted for achieving a degree of unity and cohesiveness in the school program of studies?

12. Can you describe a method of teaching geography or history that would exhibit the spirit of the University Elementary School?

REFERENCES

The best record of Col. Francis W. Parker's educational program is found in LELIA E. PATRIDGE, *The Quincy Methods Illustrated*, and in the earlier volumes of the *Elementary School Teacher*.

Useful discussions of the problems of the learning process and the curriculum are as follows: F. G. BONSER, *The Elementary School Curriculum*, Macmillan; ROY W. HATCH, *Training for Citizenship*, Scribners; W. H. KILPATRICK, *Foundations of Method*, Macmillan; ANNIE E. MOORE, *The Primary School*, Houghton Mifflin; LOIS C. MOSSMAN, *Teaching and Learning in the Elementary School*, Houghton Mifflin; EDWIN H. REEDER, *Simplifying Teaching*, Laidlaw Brothers; H. O. RUGG, *The Child Centered School*, World Book Company; and *Curriculum Making in the Elementary School*, by the Lincoln Elementary School Staff, Ginn.

CHAPTER XXV

ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE COMMON SCHOOL

The Discrepancy between Theory and Practice. — For a considerable space this narrative has concerned itself with the development of a new ideal of teaching and learning designed to correct the deficiencies of the learning process as followed in the schools. The carefully graded system of schools, of which so much had been expected, had been seen, even in the early years after the Civil War, to exhibit characteristics that were woefully unsatisfactory. They showed children carefully regimented, passing in orderly succession from the first grade through the highest. These children had learned lessons out of books so that they could recall multitudes of facts with uncanny accuracy. They could recite definitions by the score, and could parse and diagram with great skill. But their information was not knowledge, because it was not integrated in thought-patterns. They could recall facts, but they did not use them in thinking. They had no abiding intellectual curiosities which would lead them to further acquisition of knowledge after they left school. They had developed no tastes for literature or any other form of art. Their moral selves had hardly been affected at all by the information that had rained down upon them. They knew the facts of history and government, but they had not thereby gained a sense of citizenship. They had acquired no abiding interests in national or international problems of social organization. They were hardly more aware of the great world about them than they would have been had they not attended school at all.

If one reads the books and articles dealing with the quality of school experience which are currently appearing, one is struck with the fact that in spite of all the advancement in pedagogical theory, in spite of all the books and articles that have been written in exposition of new and better modes of teaching and learning, in spite of all the lessons in "methods" that have been given in normal schools and teachers colleges, in spite of all the inspiring conventions of superintendents and teachers that have been held, the practical school situation that we face is almost the identical one which the school committee of Quincy discovered in 1873. Children continue to learn facts out of books without much reference to their meanings and possible use in interpreting life. The teacher continues for the most part to be a hearer of lessons previously assigned in books. The artistic sides of the child's nature are neglected. His original impulses are little utilized. His moral nature is little developed. Abiding tastes and interests are not formed in the school to carry over into and enrich his mature years. What is the answer?

The answer seems to be that able men and women, directing their attention and efforts to the study of the school and what education in the school ought to be, have gained an insight into the meaning of school education immeasurably superior to any standards of practice that have ever been carried out on a large scale. This new conception of the teaching and learning process, while it has been anticipated in its outlines by earlier thinkers, is a discovery of the first magnitude. It reproduces anew the vision of Comenius, of Rousseau, of Condorcet, and of Pestalozzi, who saw the schools as a great agency for the improvement and advancement of the human race. But it is more than a mere revival of old aspirations, for the new conception of teaching and learning has at last been developed in workmanlike detail. It has been embodied in school practices. Men have been convinced that the thing can be done on a large and world-moving scale because it has been done in single schools under favorable conditions. But to embody the ideal universally will take a long time, — perhaps a time to be expressed in terms of hundreds of years.

Think of the kind of person who alone is fit to be a teacher in terms of the ideal! What his or her character, ability, and training must be! The difficulties of enlisting and educating such an army as is required! The expense of paying adequate salaries and providing the rich school environment which is called for! The problem of educating society to the point where it will tolerate the kind of school it needs and pay the bills to maintain it!

But, for our encouragement we may look back one hundred years to the time when, outside of the northeastern states of the Union, there was not a single public school open free of cost to the children of the land. Recall the lack of any system of selecting or training teachers at that time and the disgracefully inadequate staffing of the schools. Recall the almost universal prevalence at that time of the ungraded, one-teacher district school. Recall the vast increase of the population of the United States which has multiplied thousand-fold the problem of supplying free education, once that principle of public policy was accepted. Recall the growth of cities, the conquest of vast areas of western wilderness and their reduction to service in the support and home of citizens. Recall the crowds of immigrants that have been year by year received and assimilated into the body politic and economic. Consider the material increase in school facilities, the improvement of buildings, grounds, and equipment, the expansion of the curriculum, the extension of educational opportunity, the increase in teachers' salaries, the improvement in the academic training of teachers. All these are but signs of the enterprise that has been exhibited and forecasts of the good will that may be expected to operate in the future for the realization of the educational ideal.

The task, however, is still with us. What is being done day by day to cope with it?

Changes in Educational Administration. — Among the most important developments for the improvement of the common school in the United States today are the readjustments that are taking place in educational administration.[1] There has come to be a general recognition of the importance of aggressive leadership in educational affairs on the part of the state as a whole as represented in a state board of education and a state superintendent or state commissioner of education. The state boards have in considerable degree been reconstituted so as better to provide a group intelligent regarding educational problems and actively interested in them, and the office of state superintendent is gradually being taken out of politics and placed upon a strictly professional basis. The responsibilities of the state for equalizing educational opportunities for the children of all of its parts, for country children in particular, are being more and more generally recognized, and millions of dollars of state taxes are being expended in the communities of the states for the improvement of local school conditions and in support of local effort. The staffs of the state departments of education are being expanded and manned with trained persons who can stimulate and guide educational development over the states at large, thus bringing into local communities, otherwise stagnant and isolated, conceptions of efficiency and progress.

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[1] It will be impossible in this connection to do more than indicate the principal changes in educational administration that have occurred since about 1890. The student who wishes to find a more detailed treatment of this development may consult E. H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, pp. 415–529.

The fight against the inefficient and wasteful district system (see pp. 308 ff.) has long been on and continues with unabated vigor. Larger combinations of area and population are being adopted as the basis of school administration and support. Transfers of educational authority are being made from district to township or county boards. Rearrangements in the distribution and supply of schools are eliminating many of the one-teacher schools and providing as a substitute a country graded school with high school opportunities in addition. This process of consolidation is being aided not only by the enlargement of the areas of school administration and support, but also by the improvement of highways and the progress of motor transportation. The country school, which up to about 1890 showed little improvement over its counterpart in the days of Horace Mann, has, under new conditions of administration and by means of enlarged resources, in thousands of cases come to offer equal educational opportunities with the city school.

The Improvement of Supervision. — The same motive that led, sixty and more years ago, to the development of the office of city superintendent of schools has in these last few years greatly stimulated the improvement of school supervision. The city superintendent could do little or nothing to help the beginning or less efficient teacher, and the teaching principals of large elementary and high schools found little time and perhaps less inclination for the task. The situation in rural districts was even worse, where overworked, underpaid county superintendents, without professional assistance or even clerical help, could do no more than make a perfunctory annual visit to each school in the county. In view of this situation there has been a steady tendency to provide more supervision of instruction. Assistants to the city superintendent have been provided to keep in touch with the teachers, to make suggestions, if necessary, for the improvement of their technique, and in general to act as the connecting, vitalizing link between the policies and plans of the superintendent and the efforts of the classroom teacher. A regular hierarchy of supervision has been developed. There are assistant superintendents in charge of elementary education, evening schools, secondary education, etc. Then there are special supervisors of drawing, of reading, of arithmetic, of sewing, of industrial arts, whose business it is to tone up the work of the entire system within their specific fields of interest and responsibility. In addition a change has occurred with reference to the office of elementary principal. This important official is to be regarded as the guide and leader of her staff. In country districts the staff of the county superintendent has in many of the more progressive situations been increased so that assistants may do for the country schools what the increase of supervision is supposed to do for the city. In many cases "helping" or "visiting" teachers are provided to go about from school to school to assist the inexperienced teacher, to stimulate the sluggish, or to explain and illustrate some innovation which the county authorities have decreed.

The increase in the amount of supervision which has occurred and is increasing in the school system is a reflection of the fact that the teaching personnel is not as competent as it needs to be. Supervision represents an effort to produce good, or at least better, results with teachers that are relatively untrained, inexperienced, or lacking in initiative. It is a form of in-service training of teachers. However, even when all the teachers are competent and experienced, there remains a function of correlation, of exchange of experience, which calls for a *liaison* officer of some sort.

One of the delicate problems connected with the administration of a school system arises in connection with the spirit and mode of supervision. When the supervisor, especially if dealing with experienced and fairly competent teachers, assumes the attitude and manners of a " top sergeant " and becomes oppressive and dictatorial in her little kingdom, her usefulness is at an end. Her job is to educate her teachers, not to rule them, and she cannot educate them unless they willingly become parties in the process. If we could apply to supervisory procedures the ideal which has, a few pages above, been described as desirable in the government and the learning experience of a school, the smoldering discontent which so much of supervision enkindles would never develop. One of the most important aspects of the work of the superintendent of schools is keeping the staff of teachers under him alive and growing. To make them a part of his plans, to get them to working with him, is not just a bit of wise management on his part to keep peace in his professional family. Rather is it the touchstone of the growth and the vitality of the teaching done in the schools. To enlist the teachers in a program of curriculum reconstruction, for example, is not simply a piece of professional magnanimity on his part; it is the only real guarantee that any curriculum whatever that can function properly will be created.

Improvement of the Teacher's Material Status. — Another important administrative agency that is operating powerfully today in the direction of better schools, is the very practical and material improvement which is taking place in the salary, the tenure, and the promotion of teachers. Salaries of common school teachers are coming to bear a respectable relationship to the character, ability, and professional preparation which the teacher must be able to present to the school officials who employ her. The thought is becoming more and more prevalent that every teacher, whether in the primary grades or in the high school, should be paid in proportion to the years of academic training that she has had, the success of her work, the evidence she shows of professional interest, and the length of her service. The old idea that the lower schools represented an inferior grade of professional employment is rapidly giving way to the notion that any job in any part of the system equally well-prepared for and equally well performed is entitled to the same pay as any other. The new conception of a salary schedule is of one that pays a premium for thoroughness of general and professional preparation, rewards continuity of service, stimulates professional growth as represented in "renewal" courses at college or university while in service, and pays a premium for professional excellence and enthusiasm.[1]

In-Service Training of Teachers. — Such a schedule recognizes the fact that the preparation of a teacher cannot all be provided before she enters upon the work of teaching, and it is symptomatic of the increasingly large amount of attention that is being given to the " in-service " training of teachers. Supervision at its best, as was said above, is essentially that. The organization of worthwhile staff meetings and the continuing activity, through committee organization, of the teachers of a system are aspects of the same problem. More obvious, but not more real, as means of improving teachers on the job, of keeping alive and extending their knowledge of subject-matter, of giving them the example of good teaching, of bringing to their attention the factors that make up the growing edge of education, is the increasing tendency of school boards to reward the teacher for doing professional work in colleges or universities.

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[1] For a discussion of the principles that should control the making of salary schedules see J. R. McGaughy, *Teachers' Salaries in New York City.*

The Professional Preparation of Teachers. — When all is said and done, however, the surest guarantee of a good school is the adequate professional preparation of teachers before they begin teaching at all, and in this respect the historical record was for a long time unfavorable. In 1890, fifty-two years after the first public state normal school had been established, there were only 34,814 students in all the normal schools in the United States, and 5237 graduates. The attendance at normal schools and teachers colleges has conspicuously increased since then. In 1900 there were almost seventy thousand students and over eleven thousand graduates for the year. In 1926, the number of graduates of the same classes of institutions had risen to over forty-seven thousand, an increase of more than four hundred per cent. If the number of persons in all sorts of teacher training courses in 1927–1928 be taken into account, the total reaches the figure of 512,247.[1]

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[1] See U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1927, No. 30, pp. 7–9. Also Bulletin, 1929, No. 14, p. 7.

It is fair to say that the cities of the United States are demanding at least two years of professional training beyond high school for any teacher taken into their systems, while many cities are demanding a great deal more. The most advanced requirement now made in any state of the Union is that of California, where all teachers in the elementary schools will soon have to show four years of work beyond the high school, which is the equivalent of a college degree. In the rural sections of the country, however, conditions with respect to teacher preparation continue to be extremely unsatisfactory. The Rural School Survey of New York State reported in 1922 that for the preceding school year only six per cent of all teachers in one-teacher schools had had as much as two years of post-high school education, while the conditions in two-teacher and village schools was not a great deal better. In 1924 the United States Bureau of Education reported that more than three million boys and girls in one-teacher schools were under teachers who had never completed their high school education.

The teacher-personnel situation is one, however, that justifies considerable optimism. The certification of teachers, which throughout the nineteenth century was overwhelmingly a function of the county, city, or township school authorities, has come to be taken over by state departments of education to a large extent. In 1927 there were thirty-six states that had taken this function away from the lesser authorities and lodged it in the state department of education, while the tendency to restrict local authorities in the exercise of such certificating power as was left to them was almost universal. The United States Commissioner of Education in his report for 1925 said that the teacher-training institutions were graduating students to a number within one-fifth of the total number required for replacements. In a summary of the conditions within the profession of teaching in the United States, Professor W. C. Bagley has recently said that the average term of service of teachers in this country had increased from four or five years to at least eight or nine, and that within a period of not more than fifteen years. He says further that whereas fifteen years ago the median teacher had no more than a high-school education at most, today it is probable that sixty per cent of the teachers have had two years or more in advance of high school graduation.[1] There seems to be every reason to believe that the time is not far distant when every class and every school in the United States will be provided with a teacher who will have had from four to six years of professional preparation beyond the grade of school which she essays to teach.

Then and Now in the Common School. — The conditions surrounding the common school in this country have indeed progressed far from that primitive state in which we viewed them in the first half of the nineteenth century. Then each school was a little independent and isolated realm, ruled in every particular by the district trustees who were dependent for their insight and outlook upon only the meager experience which they personally had had as pupils in district schools. The teaching personnel was untrained and inefficient. The curriculum was whatever books the children brought with them to school or what books they purchased at the suggestion of the teacher. At present the wisdom and the planning of professionally trained men and women, as operating in state departments of education, are brought to bear upon the common school in its every aspect.

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[1] See W. C. Bagley, "The Profession of Teaching in the United States," *School and Society*, XXIX, No. 735, p. 102.

What the children shall study, how the school experience is to be organized and presented and what professional training and fitness the teacher shall offer, are guided by the state education authorities. To make it possible for all communities to come up to a recognized minimum standard of educational opportunity, the resources of the state have come to the aid of the local school authorities with an ever-increasing amount of financial aid. The representatives of the state departments and the assistants of the county and city superintendents represent a constantly operating *liaison* between those centers of educational strategy and the teachers in the school. Security of tenure, more adequate financial reward, and just promotion schedules are making the occupation of teaching more attractive and are influencing a constantly increasing number of persons to find in teaching not a stop-gap employment, but a life profession. Finally, the standards of certification, the facilities for teacher training, and the development of in-service opportunities for renewal and growth are steadily improving the quality and the professional enthusiasm of the teachers in the schools.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Account for the discrepancy which exists between what is generally acknowledged to be good school practice and what actually goes on in the schools.

2. Are there any grounds for congratulation and optimism in what has been accomplished by way of improving the elementary school?

3. In what ways does the superior organization of state and local educational administration promise the improvement of education?

4. Are there any special conditions connected with American education which call for special emphasis on the factor of school supervision?

5. In what respects does good supervision observe the principles that we accept for good teaching?

6. What forces are at present operating for the improvement of the teaching personnel in the common schools? How do you rate these in order of importance?

7. Is in-service training of teachers to be regarded as a temporary expedient or is it an aspect of professional preparation which is bound to have continued and larger development?

8. Make a diagram which will indicate, with reference to as many features of education as you can think of, the contrast between conditions now and what they were a century ago in the United States.

CHAPTER XXVI

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

A Return to the European Scene of Education. — For many pages past this story has been concerned with the history of the common school in the United States and it is only incidentally that it has had to take into account, from time to time, influences that operated upon it from foreign lands. The whole story of the common school could not have been told, however, without going back to the European beginnings of that institution, and it would have been a one-sided and inadequate account, indeed, that had not placed in their European setting the vast influences that have operated toward making the common school what it has come to be. For not only did the common school have its origin as a comparatively unimportant and neglected social agency in Europe, whence it was transferred with little change to the American scene, but it was also in Europe that liberal thought and the pressure of new social conditions brought into existence a new conception of popular education which influenced in its every phase the evolution of the common schools in the United States.

There, as here, was operating throughout the nineteenth century, the conviction that the school of the common people must be not just a place where children learned to read and write and cipher, but an institution for their improvement and development as human beings. There, as here, the common school received an important impetus from the growing force of nationalism as a principle of political organization and policy, for nationalism exhibited the individual citizen in heightened relief as the basis of the nation's economic and military strength and demanded that he be made more intelligent, more productive, and more devoted to his country. There, as here, the vast forces of the industrial revolution have wrought their mighty changes in social life. This social movement has raised cities and changed the quality of western civilization from predominantly agricultural to predominantly industrial and commercial. It has accentuated the problems of popular education, but has at the same time supplied the opportunities and resources for solving the problems it has raised. It has made demands for more advanced instruction of many more individuals in science, industrial art, mathematics, and commercial skills, thus adding a new grade of education, above the common school and separate from the traditional secondary school, which is in effect a tremendous extension of popular education. But most important for education has been the fact that the industrial revolution has given the franchise to the common man and in that way has laid a basis for universal education as broad and deep as human nature itself.

The Closed-in Character of the Common School in Europe in the Nineteenth Century. — The reader will recall that when in Germany and France during the first half of the nineteenth century the governments began to provide public systems of common schools, the traditional separation of the education of the common people from that of the well-to-do persisted. The folk schools in Germany and the primary schools in France, and also the public elementary schools in England after they had tardily developed, were designed to meet the needs of a lower economic and social class. The common school was a school for the children of those who worked for wages in the factories, on the farms, and in households as domestic servants, and for the children of the small shopkeepers, the small farmers, the skilled workmen, who constituted the lowest range of the middle class. The social theory in vogue held that the children of workingmen would remain in that class all their lives. Accordingly the schools designed for their use contemplated their improvement within their social station, but not their removal from it by promotion to a higher. In short, no way was provided for the children of the common people attending the common schools to pass from them into the secondary schools, which were the avenue to higher technical and professional training in the universities. The same closed-in character affected the training of teachers for these two grades of education. The teachers of the common schools were drawn from among the humbler classes of the population, and, after a period of training in the normal schools, went back into the common schools as teachers. They could not offer the years spent in the normal schools as the equivalent of secondary education, to be used as the certification of fitness to attend the university. Teacher training for the primary schools was completely shut off from higher education. The effect was an almost complete separation of the common school system from secondary and higher education and a denial of educational opportunity beyond the common schools to all those whom fate had enrolled in them in the first place. The limited educational opportunities which the common people enjoyed were the counterpart of their political impotence.

Greater Opportunity Offered in the American Common School. — The reader who has followed the story which it has been the purpose of this book to tell, will recall that a factor operated in the social evolution of the United States which tended from an early date to magnify the political importance of the common man. This was the factor of the frontier, of cheap land, which had a great deal to do with the early enfranchisement of the working classes. By the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century practically every adult male citizen of the United States enjoyed full political power at the polls, and the first election of Andrew Jackson as president in 1828 may be taken as an indication that the common people at that time not only enjoyed the legal right to vote but were determined to use it.

The political and economic differences between the United States and the countries of Europe were immediately responsible for the contrast that developed in their organization of education. In this country the entire tendency was in the direction of unity. On a common basis of elementary education, local authorities began to extend the educational opportunities open to the children and the public. The extension of the school offering upward from the common school into the high school occurred on a single track. The result was the development in this country of an "end-on," or ladder, system of education extending, in sober truth, from the kindergarten to the university.

How Political Democracy Has Affected the European School Systems. — The unity of the American system of education in the last analysis was dependent upon the participation of all in its political life, which had its roots in the rich economic opportunity offered in a virgin continent. No such economic factor could operate in the countries of Europe, but there political democracy has eventually arrived as an outcome of the industrial revolution. The working classes, oppressed by a legal system created for the conditions of domestic manufacture and altogether unsuited to the factory age, had been compelled to press on and on until they had been given the right to vote. Nothing short of the power to influence legislation would serve their ends, and the inevitable result was finally achieved of their gaining the franchise. The story of the rise to political power of the great armies of labor is too long and too involved to be undertaken, even in outline, in this connection. In some countries the development was earlier, in others later, while the conclusion of the World War of 1914–1918 saw a very general extension of popular political control. The fact is, without stressing the history of the development, that in Sweden, Denmark, England, Germany, Austria, and France, not to mention other countries of Europe, government today rests upon a basis of universal suffrage. In some of the countries named the frame of government is such that the will of the popular majority is more directly and powerfully felt than it is in the United States.

The influence of this political revolution upon the theory and practice of education has been great indeed. All over Europe governments are concerned with ways and means of opening up educational opportunity for the children of the masses who show ability and promise. The problems encountered in that connection are difficult, to be sure, for the economic factors involved are more obstinate than political constitutions. Merely opening up a secondary school place for a boy is no guarantee that he will be able to take advantage of it, for such an educational step involves a long train of social and economic consequences. There is the question of the parent's loss of such support as the adolescent boy can bring to the family budget. There is the question also of the expenses that inevitably follow upon the boy's entering upon an educational career of which the secondary school is only the introduction. There is the ultimate consideration of how the boy from a humble home can eventually materialize his secondary and higher education in a professional field, which implies social connections and financial backing quite beyond what the child of the people can hope to muster. But in spite of all the difficulties that surround the change and in face of the slowness of its probable development, the governments of Europe are apparently determined to break down as far as possible the educational barriers that have in the past risen squarely in front of the promising child born into a humble home.

Intermediate Schools. — In order to have in mind all the quantities that are entering into this effort to provide greater educational opportunity, it should be recalled that a grade of education intermediate between the elementary school and the secondary has appeared since about 1850 in all European countries. This school has been variously named real school, middle school, higher primary school, and lower secondary school, but in all examples of this grade of education the course of study has been much alike. The curriculum is more advanced than that of the elementary school and is intended to employ the child at least two years longer than the common school course does. In some cases the studies are general in nature, representing a little more extended preparation for life and usually including courses in modern foreign language, in sciences, in mathematics, and in the mother tongue. A decided tendency in these intermediate schools has been, however, to prepare pupils for commercial life, for white-collar occupations, or to prepare the pupil for advantageous entry into some occupation which calls for more mathematics, industrial and free-hand drawing, and science than the common school supplies. These schools have been, and even now in considerable part continue to be tuition schools, although the fees charged are much lower than those asked in the secondary schools proper.

Foundation Schools. — In the general movement in the direction of greater educational opportunity, the tendency is to find a common foundation for all grades of education. In Germany since the war, a so-called *Grundschule*, or foundation school, has been provided, which is nothing else but the first four years of the old folk school. Every child of the land, no matter what the economic or social position of his parents, is compelled by law to spend the first four years of his school life in the foundation school. In Norway there is a seven-year elementary school articulating directly with a secondary school, which is subdivided into a middle school and a gymnasium each of three years' duration. The plans followed in Denmark and Sweden are much like that of Norway in providing definite articulation of the common school with the intermediate school and in having the intermediate school course preparatory to the section of the secondary school which prepares pupils for the universities.

The Increase of School Opportunity: in France. — In France there has been a great deal of agitation during the past generation, and this has greatly increased in volume since the War, for a unification of the entire school system in what is known as the *école unique*. At present the higher primary schools are free and have a student clientele, chosen on the basis of ability, from among the children in the common schools at about the age of eleven.

A recent reorganization of the secondary school makes its non-classical section very like certain curricula in the higher primary school, so that it has been found possible in certain smaller communities to house the *collège*, or municipal secondary school, in the same building with the local higher primary school and employ the same teachers for identical subjects in both schools. In such a situation where the students of the higher primary school were in the same building and under the same teachers as the fee-paying secondary school students, it was an easy next step to say that in such mixed schools both the secondary and the higher primary schools should be free. This has been done, with the result that at least under certain circumstances secondary education in France has become free.

In addition, however, to having made the higher primary school free, the French authorities provide a considerable number of free places in secondary schools to pupils of promise. In 1927 out of one hundred fifty thousand pupils in the secondary schools of France, there were twenty thousand holders of scholarships.[1] In many cities pupils are recruited regularly from the elementary schools by means of scholarships paid by the municipalities and have made an excellent showing. While France has not yet made secondary education free, it has gone far in the direction of introducing a degree of unity within the three grades of schools and has made great strides in the direction of giving more adequate opportunity for ability wherever found.

In England. — England enfranchised the workingmen of the cities by the Reform Act of 1867 and made the suffrage practically universal for adult males by a later franchise Reform Act of 1884. During the last third of the century free public education for all children was achieved, and there were many agencies operating during that period to make possible for many poor children a type of schooling corresponding to that of the higher primary school of France. It was not until 1902, however, that any administrative organization was provided that could guarantee orderly and systematic provision of secondary schooling, under public auspices. England has not made secondary education free, that is to say, the university preparatory type of education, although by recent legislation and general consent the ideal has been accepted that from twenty-five to forty per cent of all places in secondary schools maintained by public authorities should be open on scholarships to children chosen from elementary schools on the basis of ability. In addition to the free places, a large sum is granted annually in the form of maintenance grants for children whose parents are in need of the earnings which the children would otherwise contribute to the family income. The present system of education in England contemplates that no child of ability to profit by attending a secondary school should be deprived of the opportunity of doing so.

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[1] See *Educational Yearbook* of the International Institute of Teachers College for 1927, p. 106.

In a thoroughgoing *Report* of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, entitled *The Education of the Adolescent*, which appeared early in 1927, a position on education was outlined which England will probably embody in its laws and practices within the coming years. In this report the ground was taken that the classification of schools should no longer be based upon social differences. Primary education is to comprise the school years up to the age of eleven or twelve, and all education after that age is to be called secondary. Secondary education is to be divided into different kinds of curricula according to the abilities and the life objectives of the pupils and according to the length of time they can spend upon it. The secondary schools that continue the traditional preparation for the university will be called grammar schools. A second type of secondary school will provide a general education, " biased " toward the requirements of commerce and industry. A third type of secondary school will be a continuation of the primary school along lines most profitable for the children of less ability. At the age of eleven,the children in the public primary schools will be sorted out according to their promise and given the opportunity of attending the type of adolescent education to which their interests and abilities point. While this report has not yet been embodied in official regulations, its terms are so similar to the present practices of London and other large cities that it shows itself to be not only within the bounds of the possible but also as pointing ahead along current lines of progress. It is highly probable that some such arrangement as has been recommended in the report on *The Education of the Adolescent* will within a few years become an accomplished fact in English education.

In Germany. — Germany, so long taken as the perfect example of education arranged on a rigid class basis, has undergone a revolution in its educational system corresponding in considerable degree to the political revolution which overthrew the monarchies and placed a saddler in the seat of the Hohenzollerns. The establishment of the foundation school (*Grundschule*) of four years as the common school for all German children has been mentioned above (see p. 556). While the middle schools and the secondary schools of various types continue to charge fees as before, there has been a considerable increase in the number of free places provided in secondary schools. In Prussia twenty per cent, and in Saxony thirty per cent of the tuition charges received are used in the reduction or remission of fees for poor but worthy pupils, while in the city of Hamburg, which is most advanced in this respect, only one-third of all the pupils in secondary schools paid full tuition fees in 1926.[1] The most thoroughgoing effort to provide a pathway to the university through and from the common schools is exhibited in the very general establishment of a new type of secondary school called the *Aufbauschule*, or opportunity school. This school receives gifted pupils after seven years spent in the folk school and enables them by means of a six-year course to complete their secondary education and prepare for the university.

Perhaps the sharpest break with the pre-War system in Germany lies in the new arrangements for the training of elementary school teachers. Under the old plan it will be recalled that the elementary teacher was given six years of training after leaving the common school. The last three years of this period were spent in the *Lehrerseminarien*, or normal schools, which represented specific professional training useful only in qualifying the student for a position in the common schools. Leaders in the teaching profession in Germany have long objected to the blind-alley character of the normal training and have urged that teacher preparation for the common schools be placed on a university level. Following the War the old normal schools were done away with throughout almost the whole of Germany. No one system has been devised to take the place of the old, as teacher training is the responsibility of the separate states making up the German Republic, but, for the present at least, the teachers for the elementary schools are to be found from among the graduates of the secondary schools. After finishing the secondary curriculum, the candidates for elementary school positions will spend two years in specific professional training on the university level. In some parts of Germany this professional work will actually be done in universities, while in others special institutes are being organized, separate from the university, but of university grade and definitely affiliated with higher education.

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[1] See *Educational Yearbook* of the International Institute of Teachers College, 1926, p. 511.

The New European Conception of the Common School. — The brief survey of the development of educational opportunity in some of the countries of Europe, to which the preceding pages have been devoted, will serve to indicate that a fundamental change is occurring in the European conception of the common school. It is coming more and more to be thought of as the foundation school upon which all more advanced instruction rests and as the universal nursery of citizens on the lower age levels. It no longer represents a sentence to permanent social and intellectual inferiority as more generous provision is being made to advance bright and ambitious children into the higher schools. At the same time, when the common school is reorganized as a part of a unified educational system, its curriculum and methods take on a universal significance. The unification of the entire public system of education makes it impossible any longer to think of the common school as a separate concern for which a special subject-matter and a specific type of mechanically efficient methods are appropriate. There can no longer be a philosophy of folk school education as distinct from a philosophy of education in the large. For this reason there has been of recent years all over

Europe a tremendous interest in the "new education," as it is called, but which means nothing more nor less than an effort to provide an educative experience for the child that is in accord with the laws of his nature and which recognizes him as a person. The "new education" is the education which leaders in American education have been actively concerned with during the last forty years and more, and which has been described in recent chapters of this book.[1]

Recent Extension of Educational Opportunity in the United States. — The educational developments in Europe described above, which tend to dull the contrast between the American and the European systems of education which existed during the last half of the nineteenth century, prompt the question as to whether in these recent years the early tendencies of the American system have been strengthened or weakened. Has the unity which was seen as developing within the public school system before the Civil War been maintained? Does the United States continue to be the land, *par excellence*, of educational opportunity? Those questions can be answered affirmatively with little hesitation. Not only has the factor of unity been maintained, but it has been strengthened at critical points and through the enrichment of curricular offerings the possible service of the schools to the entire school population has been increased many fold.

The Junior High School. — In the 8–4 arrangement of the elementary and high schools, which has been seen to have become standard practice in the United States by about 1885 (see p. 384), there were certain defects that kept the high school from being utilized by any large proportion of the pupils. Its curriculum was decidedly shaped with reference to the college preparatory aim and offered little that could appeal to the child who could look forward to nothing but employment in business or industry or domestic pursuits. Besides, the articulation between the elementary and the high school was unsatisfactory. Children coming to the end of the elementary school at the age of fourteen or fifteen and knowing that they would soon take jobs, hesitated about entering the high school where all was foreign to them and of no particular point with reference to the life they were planning to embark upon.

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[1] For a more extended discussion of the "New Education" in Europe see *Educational Yearbook* of the International Institute of Teachers College, 1924, pp. 481–554 and 599–627.

This feature of the traditional arrangement, in addition to other important psychological and practical considerations, led to active criticism of the 8–4 plan and to agitation in favor of a new organization of the twelve years of the common school course. In these new plans the break between the elementary and the secondary school was to come at the end of the sixth grade, and the last six years were to be divided into a junior and a senior high school.

Various divisions of the last six years were proposed, such as 3–3, or 2–4, but whatever the division of the high school, the junior high school was to be organized on a broad basis with a variety of offerings designed to serve the entire group of twelve- to fifteen-year-old children, and not just those of intellectual tastes who were preparing for college. The effect of the new organization of the later years of the common school course has been to articulate those years more closely with the elementary school and to attract a greater number of pupils into the high school. The end of the junior high school course, coming at the close of the ninth school year, represents a year more of schooling, if the pupil stops at that point, than the eight-year elementary school did. Besides, the pupil embarked upon a satisfying school experience in the junior high school is much more likely to continue into the senior high school than he was under the old system to enter the high from the elementary school.

Beginning with the second decade of the present century, junior high schools began to be organized, and since that time the movement in that direction has been rapid. Practically all the large cities of the United States have set up a junior-senior high school arrangement, and a number of states have adopted it as the preferred type. Dr. Ganders in a recent study of personnel and organization of schools in cities of from two thousand five hundred to ten thousand population, found that the 8–4 plan continued to exist in sixty per cent of all cities of that size, while thirty-two per cent had adopted either a 6–3–3 or a 6–6 plan of organization.[1] The junior high school arrangement is generally advocated by the leaders in education and will probably come to be typical in the United States before many years have passed.

Increase of High School Attendance. — It is not, however, only through the rearrangement of the last six years of the twelve-year common school course in the United States that pupils have been, in increasingly greater numbers, brought into the high schools. In 1890 the total number of pupils enrolled in the public high schools of the United States was only slightly over two hundred thousand. By 1900 this total had increased to over five hundred thousand; by 1910 to over nine hundred thousand; by 1920 to one million eight hundred fifty thousand; and by 1926 to over three million seven hundred fifty thousand.[1] In 1926 the buildings in which high school instruction in the United States was given had a valuation of over a billion dollars. While the total population of the country increased between 1890 and 1926 eighty-six per cent, the number of pupils in public high schools increased almost eleven hundred per cent.

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[1] See Harry L. Ganders, *Personnel and Organization of Schools in Small Cities*, U. S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1926, No. 6.

This amazing increase in the attendance at public high schools is a tremendous social phenomenon which has its roots deep in American economic and political life. We cannot attempt here an evaluation of these underlying causes of the growth of the high school, but it must be plain that in the United States at the present time as in no other country in the world, the total school population tends to sweep on into the high schools and spend one year, two years, four years in what has been spoken of as secondary education. But such a phenomenon entirely changes what has ordinarily been thought of as secondary education. It practically amounts to a unification of the common school throughout twelve grades.

Distinction between Common School and Secondary School Wiped Out. — This educational change has been accompanied by a decided shift in educational theory as related to the classification of schools. The distinction between the common school and the secondary school has practically been wiped out. In place of it there exists now only the distinction between pre-adolescent and post-adolescent education, which indistinguishably merge together. The problem of post-elementary education has come to be one of providing as richly and as practically as possible for the entire body of adolescent youth. Some need one type of schooling, others a different type. Some need a practical preparation for business, industry, or domestic pursuits. Some need a course that will prepare them for entering upon college studies. All need fundamental training in health, good citizenship, and desirable leisure pursuits. Some are dull, some are gifted. Some are vocationally minded; others literary, artistic, or scientific in their bent. In its effort to provide for the vast variety of abilities, interests, and life objectives represented in the new high school population, the high school has become all things to all pupils. It invites them all to come; it endeavors to provide a school experience suited to their varying endowments, their different tastes, their diverse vocational objectives, and their common lot as American citizens.

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[1] See Carl A. Jessen, *Secondary Education*, U. S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1929, No. 22; also Bulletin, 1927, No. 33.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Which of the social forces that have operated in American life and education since the close of the eighteenth century have also been operating in European countries?

2. Contrast the amount of educational opportunity which the children of the masses were offered in the United States with the same factor in European education throughout the nineteenth century.

3. What change in this matter of educational opportunity has within the last few decades occurred in European countries? What social forces have made for greater educational opportunity?

4. How does the development of forms of intermediate education affect the factor of educational opportunity?

5. What significance, in so far as educational opportunity is concerned, is to be attached to the closer articulation of the various grades of education? Name some of the outstanding improvements of articulation within the school systems of Europe.

6. If the changes in the English system proposed in the report on the *Education of the Adolescent* go into general effect, would you say that their system would then exhibit as much educational opportunity as has been traditional in the United States? Can you see certain advantages in the proposed English system over our own plan of school organization?

7. Explain the significance in recent German education of the new status of the professional training of teachers.

8. Is there a causal relationship between the new conception of the common school in Europe and the increased interest of European education in the "new education"? What is this "new education"?

9. What influence has the junior high school exerted in keeping pupils longer in school?

10. Why is it fair to say that in the United States at present the distinction between the common school and the secondary school has been wiped out?

REFERENCES

The best source of information regarding current developments in European education are to be found in the year books of the INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TEACHERS COLLEGE for 1924, 1925, 1926, published by Macmillan, and for 1927, 1928, published by the Teachers College Bureau of Publications.

For a more extensive discussion of the new conception of the functions and organization of the high school, see *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, U. S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1918, No. 35.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE COMMON SCHOOLS AND THE FUTURE OF WORLD SOCIETY

It seems fitting to close the story of the development of the common school with some consideration of the rôle which it may play in the future development of world society.

The Schools and Patriotism. — We have seen that the first really effective effort at developing the common schools in the Western World had as its motive the consolidation of peoples into patriotic loyalty. In other words the common schools first became important when it was realized that they were a tremendous machine of social control. We have seen how it occurred to the leaders of the French Revolution that the schools were the most efficient means available to inform the great masses of the people concerning the social reforms that had been wrought in their favor, and to fill them with the conviction that those reforms ought to be maintained and upheld by them. Prussia, also, in the depths of national humiliation and discouragement, turned to the schools as the only available means to build up a saving sense of national pride among her citizens and to engender feelings of patriotic fervor that might be employed to regain her liberty. And so in turn every nation that has developed a system of public education has employed it, more or less overtly and obviously, to create attitudes in the minds of the on-coming generation that were regarded as advantageous to the state. The school has been a potent instrumentality of social control.

The specific applications of this great social force have varied with different countries and with circumstances. Denmark during the nineteenth century used her schools to revive a poor, shrunken, dispirited country and to develop, on the basis of national pride and renewed national confidence, a high degree of social efficiency and commercial prosperity. Prussia, during the thirty years before the Great War, consistently used the schools to combat the inroads of industrial democracy and to create attitudes favorable to the existing economic and political order. France, during that same time, was being governed by an insecure Republican majority which was constantly being threatened with an overturn by the Clerical-Monarchist group. For that reason, the party in power used the schools to show the advantages which the great mass of the people had secured from the original French Revolution and which they continued to enjoy under the Republic as the beneficent continuation of the social reforms established in 1789. In Italy and Russia today the schools are being employed in as thoroughgoing a manner as has ever been shown for the purpose of maintaining the party in power.

In many countries, however, the keynote to the most dramatic use of the schools as an instrument of social control is found in the conditions of international politics. Europe, during the last third of the nineteenth century and up to the outbreak of the World War, was an armed camp. The Triple Entente of England, France, and Russia was matched by the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Huge standing armies were built up. Navies increased in power year by year. The situation was one of uneasiness and mutual distrust. In a world so definitely organized on the competitive principle it is small wonder that the schools were in many countries used to create war-minded citizens. The best example of this policy of militant nationalism in the schools is presented in the education of the traditional rivals, France and Germany.[1]

Developing War Psychology in the Schools. — It was made a definite objective on the part of the school authorities to prepare the pupils in the schools for the acceptance of this condition of international policy and to make them active partisans, loyal patriots, willing to go to war and to make sacrifices for the just and holy cause of national defense. It was always made clear that the homeland had no desire to precipitate a war and would accept a military challenge only at the last resort and in a just cause. Indeed, the homeland was always placed in the position of being the unwilling victim of the necessity of self-defense.

To build up the desired war psychology great emphasis was laid in history classes upon military campaigns and exploits. "Trumpet and drum" history was stressed greatly at the expense of economic and political developments. Professor Thomas Alexander reports that out of sixty-four recitations in history which he heard in Prussian elementary schools before the Great War, forty-eight dealt with rulers and their deeds as warriors, or with their campaigns.[2] In France, in the instruction in morals and civics, great pains were taken to justify the heavy financial burden caused by the army and navy. Children were taught why they should willingly pay taxes for the upkeep of the fighting forces, tremendous burden though they were, because it was only through maintaining efficient means of defense that their homes, their possessions, their language, their institutions — all that they held dear — could hope to be preserved to them.

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[1] For a more extended treatment of the political and economic situation that was the setting of nationalistic instruction in France and Germany, see E. H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, pp. 196–199. A description also of the ways and means of patriotic instruction will be found in Reisner, *ibid.*, pp. 83–92 and 207–211; in T. Alexander, *Prussian Elementary Schools*, pp. 392–400 and 429–436; and in J. F. Scott, *Patriots in the Making*.

[2] See Thomas Alexander, *The Prussian Elementary Schools*, p. 395.

In the Prussian schools a great deal of attention was given to creating a distinctly favorable attitude toward the ruling Hohenzollern dynasty. Its representatives were to be taken as the sign and symbol of Prussia's and Germany's rise to power. They were to be regarded as the agents responsible for the improvement of the position of the common people and for the industrial prosperity that the country enjoyed. God, King, and Fatherland were the effective trinity worshiped in the Prussian schools.

The literary selections for reading and memorization also contributed in considerable degree to the development in the younger generation of love of country, pride in its historical tradition, approval of deeds of military courage and daring, and a desire to emulate those who had gloriously striven or sacrificed for the nation's good.

Geography, also, and this seems to have been especially true in Germany, was employed as an active agency of nationalization. History lessons in German schools were always taught with reference to their related geographical factors. Much stress was laid on learning, and, if possible, visiting, the places where important events of national history had transpired, so that the historical significance of an event would be strengthened through being definitely localized. The German boys and girls were thus given a warm feeling of affection for scenes they knew, or felt as if they knew, until their country came to mean for them a vast area richly dotted with almost holy places.

Geography was also taught in such a way as to show the military position of the country, — its vulnerable frontiers and the accessibility of strategic points in neighboring lands that might some day be enemy countries. Perhaps it is not true that a German teacher before a class in a folk school once described his country as "a land entirely surrounded by enemies," but it might well enough have occurred and well illustrates one of the objectives of school instruction in geography. It was also regarded as no less important that the German youth should be informed of the position which his country occupied in the great international struggle that was going on for industrial and commercial prosperity. He must learn that Germany could not feed her population out of her home production for more than two hundred eighty days in a year. He must comprehend the disadvantageous position of his country with reference to colonial possessions, so important as markets for finished goods and so desirable as a source of supply of rubber, copper, and other raw materials that were essential to German industry. He must be acquainted with the way in which the aggressive foreign policy of his land was related in the long run to his personal welfare as an industrial worker.

The whole effort to create citizens of the sort desired in a world so strictly and violently competitive was a tremendous project of the psychology of suggestion. The youth of a given nation were to be given a distinct superiority complex. Their country was more honorable; its motives were purer; its institutions more efficient and humane; its great men were more remarkable in their abilities and their virtues; its soldiers were braver and more chivalrous, and it alone of all the nations of the world could be expected to refrain from war except in self-defense. Their country was not necessarily the strongest in the world, but it was incomparably the best, and every child so fortunate as to be born there should willingly accept all the burdens and sacrifices which were necessary for the maintenance of its integrity and the enhancement of its welfare.

The result desired in any country was achieved not so much by instruction directed against other nations as through exclusive and uncritical preoccupation with the history, literature, geography, and institutions of that country. Excellence in every respect was identified with its manifestation in connection with the pupils' own nation. If their own national things were best, by implication the things of other nations could be at least only second best, and perhaps hardly worth considering. The youth were national-minded because their experiences were so exclusively of their own nation or biased to their nation's advantage.

Nationalistic Emphasis in American Schools. — The American reader will smile at the presumption of French, German, Danish, English or any other national who pretends that his nation is the greatest in the world, for he will have learned in his school histories and geographies and readers that that claim holds exclusively for the United States. He will know that the United States has never waged an unrighteous war, that its diplomacy has always been honest and philanthropic; that its soldiers have always been kind to the weak and defenseless and considerate of their enemies; that the English, the Mexicans, and the Spanish are relatively low orders of humanity; and that all its great men have been disinterested champions of the right.

It is difficult to discover any active planning on the part of school authorities in the early history of American education to achieve this actual and effective bias in favor of things American. The differences of viewpoint between the Americans and the English during the Revolutionary War and the later unpleasantness in 1812 naturally enough were transferred to the pages of history and in the absence of any force that was strong enough to change them, they survived. Our school histories, accordingly, have always had an anti-English bias, — not very strong, perhaps, but effective nevertheless. " Red coat " and " tory " have long held a connotation of reproach. The United States has had so few enemies that it has had to foster the memory of those it has enjoyed. On the whole, the strong pro-American bias which has been more or less unconsciously a part of the spirit of our schools seems to have originated not so much from active planning or definite intention as out of preoccupation with things American and the human tendency to brag. The American school boy accepts the superior resourcefulness and valor of the American soldier just as he believes in the fighting qualities of his dog. He accepts George Washington as the greatest general of his day just as he believes that his father can blow better smoke rings than any other boy's father. His country is as much superior to any other as his home town is better than that benighted and uninteresting collection of houses ten miles away that calls itself the county seat.

Recent Increase of Nationalistic Emphasis in American Schools. — In these more recent years, particularly during and since the Great War, there has been, however, in the United States a pronounced legislative effort to play up the inculcation of nationalistic attitudes in the public schools. This resurgence of nationalism in the schools occurred partly as the result of the discovery during the War that there were in this country vast areas of alienism and thousands of citizens whose first loyalty was not to the United States, but to the country from which they or their parents had come as emigrants. When the United States came to the point of putting forth a united military and economic effort in the Great War, the solidarity of public sentiment and the loyalty of every citizen came to be recognized as of first importance. At about the same time communism seemed to offer an ominous threat against American institutions.

In a study of legislative control of the elementary curriculum, Dr. Jesse K. Flanders has collected facts which indicate a steady recent development of the interest of state legislatures in the inculcation of patriotic attitudes through the schools.[1] In 1903, seventeen states of the Union had laws calling for the display of the national flag in, on, or near every public school, while in 1913, the number so ordering had increased to twenty-nine, and in 1923 to thirty-nine. The same study shows that in 1913 only seventeen states had found it important to require that English alone should be the language of instruction in the elementary schools, while ten years later that requirement had been enacted in thirty-four states. In most states this provision applied to private as well as to public schools. There was, in general, a notable increase in the stress required by the states to be put upon the teaching of social studies. In regard to teaching the history of the United States there was not much change, for in 1903 most of the states had included that subject among those to be taught in the common schools. In the matter of teaching state history there was a decided development, no less than twenty-five states requiring that subject in 1923. There was much new legislation between 1913 and 1923 regarding a variety of subjects, such as the government of the United States, the constitution of the United States, and citizenship, which in effect represented the intention that pupils should be better instructed concerning the government under which they lived and their duties as citizens.

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[1] See J. K. Flanders, *Legislative Control of the Elementary Curriculum,* Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1925.

An analytical study of much of this recent legislation regarding the teaching of history and citizenship reveals also that the lawmakers were desirous that these studies should result in very specific outcomes in terms of patriotism. An Oklahoma law of 1921, which prescribed instruction in American history in all the grades, stated that the purpose of the law was to instill in the hearts of the pupils "an understanding of the United States and a love of country and devotion to the principles of American government."[1] Laws passed in other states were equally specific in their expectation that the social studies should result in love of country, appreciation of American institutions, and willingness to serve the nation in peace and war.

There was also a considerable amount of legislation which prescribed American citizenship as a prerequisite of holding office as a teacher. An act passed in New York in 1921 denied a teaching certificate to any one who had "advocated by word of mouth or in writing a change in the government of the United States or of this state by force, violence, or any other unlawful means."[1] Similar legislation was passed in eleven other states, while six states required of all teachers an open declaration of loyalty and intention to inculcate patriotism in their pupils.

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[1] Quoted from Bessie Louise Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1926, p. 80.

[1] See Bessie L. Pierce, *ibid.*, p. 88.

In connection with the appropriation bill for the District of Columbia, the Congress of the United States in 1925 declared that none of the money voted should be used to pay the salary of any supervisory officer who permitted the teaching of partisan politics, disrespect for the Holy Bible, or that ours was "an inferior form of government."[1]

"Un-American" Textbooks. — At about the same time that legislatures were enjoining upon teachers greater zeal for the creation of patriotic attitudes among the pupils in the schools, the alarming discovery was made that many of the history texts used in the schools were "un-American." There had been during the years preceding the War a notable improvement in the quality of many of the school histories. Trained, critical historians with broad perspective had produced some texts in which the "trumpet and drum" elements had been subordinated to the story of economic and political evolution. They had shaded down the sharp blacks and whites of the traditional history into a somewhat neutral gray. In addition to the presence of this saddening scientific attitude, there appears to have been an effort on the part of a few writers to produce American histories that would be more favorable to the alignments brought about by the War. For the first time in its history the United States had to call England friend and her soldiers went to fight side by side with the descendants of the "red coats" of Bunker Hill and Yorktown. Since the American school histories had not prepared the people of the United States for such an alliance, there occurred in a few cases a perhaps too obvious attempt to put quite a different face upon the events of the American Revolution and the War of 1812 than the traditional one.

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[1] See Bessie L. Pierce, *ibid.*, p. 91.

The discovery that the textbooks in American history were not what they had been a generation ago precipitated a storm. Such organizations as the American Bar Association, the National Security League, the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Knights of Columbus, and countless local organizations such as chambers of commerce, luncheon clubs, and fraternal orders, became active in an effort to eliminate these pithless, scientific, pro-British histories. Their attitude is well expressed in the terms of a law passed by the Wisconsin Legislature in 1923: "No history or other textbook shall be adopted for use or be used in any district school, city school, vocational school, or high school which falsifies the facts regarding the War of Independence, or the War of 1812 or which defames our nation's founders or misrepresents the ideals and causes for which they struggled and sacrificed, or which contains propaganda favorable to any foreign government."[1] As a result of the active campaigns waged in various localities many excellent history texts have been banned from the schools. At present the storm seems to have blown itself out, but what its effect has been in the meantime upon the teaching of the social studies in the schools is difficult to estimate.

A Changing International Order. — The conflict in the field of the social studies which has been briefly indicated in the preceding paragraphs is indicative of a tremendous change in the whole social situation within which the schools are operating. The World War brought to an end the exclusively competitive régime in international politics. Just as the Peace of Vienna in 1815 ushered in a century of aggressive and provocative nationalism, just so the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 marks the beginning of a new era in which coöperative and conciliatory attitudes among nations are making conspicuous headway. Already the League of Nations and the World Court represent the nucleus of an organic political system which draws sustenance and power out of the good will of all the leading nations of the World *except the United States.* Official delegates of fifty-three nations, this time including our own country, have signed an agreement renouncing war as an instrument of political policy.[1] And recently the traditional enemies, France and Germany, through their ministers of foreign affairs, in the presence of representatives of practically every country of Europe, vied with each other in their approval of a plan to lessen the international frictions of that continent through the organization of the United States of Europe.

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[1] The law is quoted in full in Bessie L. Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History*, p. 327.

Such political developments as these are but outward manifestations of the fact that the world today finds a strictly competitive international policy insupportable. Such a policy is a denial of the realities of the present age. The industrial and commercial interdependence of nations, the readiness of literary exchange, the instantaneous passage of news, the international unity of scientific and scholarly research, the spontaneous outflow of sympathy and help from all nations to any one country suffering from natural disaster, the freedom, ease, and celerity of travel over long distances, — these are only some of the many factors that make the tensely drawn national policies of the nineteenth century anachronistic in the twentieth. New principles of international policy are as desirable in the world today as they are inevitable for the world tomorrow.

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[1] October 2, 1929.

It is with reference to the realities of this new international situation that the problems connected with instruction in geography, history, and government need to be considered today. Now no one will deny that it is a mixed situation. The world continues to depend more on its traditional principles of policy than on those which better reflect the interdependence actually existing among nations. For this reason one can understand, and to a certain degree, sympathize with the position of the conservatives who wish to continue to use methods of instruction that are fundamentally those corresponding to a strictly competitive organization of world society. But at the same time the forces of social change and development are sweeping us out into a new, and more largely coöperative, world order. For this reason we must support the methods of school instruction that tend to create a human being who can function effectively in the social order that is evolving year by year. Is there not a possibility of finding a common working position between these apparently conflicting viewpoints?

A Sound Basis for Civic Education. — Faith that such a position can be found is strongly induced by consideration of the recency of nationalism as a force in Western society and by appreciation of the constant evolution which that principle has undergone since the sixteenth century. It is little more than a hundred years since it was first regarded as important to teach children to love and serve their country. The motivation for such instruction was dual.

Stemming out of the liberal social philosophy of the eighteenth century, which was partially embodied in the reforms of the French Revolution, one source of the necessity of such instruction lay in the theory that government could be based only upon the intelligent cooperation of the citizens. Law was seen to be only external autocratic control when it did not arise out of the will of all. Government was tyranny except as it was the expression of a common purpose. Accordingly every child born into society had to be taught the forms of the government under which he lived, the benefits that he gained from it, and the moral obligation which he was under to participate constructively in the national life. Owing to the harsh conditions under which these reforms were established, a necessary part of the citizen's obligation was to protect the new social order even at the cost of life itself. Love of country on the part of the citizen was originally seen to be desirable as the motive for full and active participation in the constructive life of the nation.

The second source of patriotic instruction in the schools was the possibility of using it as a means of consolidating national feeling for military efforts. This phase was developed preëminently in the reorganized school system of Prussia after 1807, but it has been imitated in every Western nation since then. Indeed it is this narrowly nationalistic propaganda which has come to monopolize the connotation of patriotic instruction.

The significance of patriotic instruction as the source of devoted attention to one's responsibilities of citizenship is not something externally tacked on to a program of education in democracy, but it is a prerequisite of the health and the prosperity of any state founded on representative principles. As long as democracy endures, it will be essential that children acquire a sense of obligation to be good citizens, and the surest guarantee of proper civic attitudes will always rest upon their knowledge of their country and their feelings of affection and loyalty toward it. But such knowledge must be genuine and such affections must be directed toward realities. For that reason the only sound basis of instruction for civic ends must be the truth, as near as the truth can be discovered. No nation can afford to rear its future citizens in a fool's paradise of false sentiment and misrepresentation. If the making of free citizens is the objective of instruction, the schools must cease to be centers of enslaving propaganda. If men and women are to be formed, possessed of the moral attitudes and mental habits that will prove effective in meeting the problems of citizenship, there must be an end in all schools, all over the world, to the practice of teaching to achieve effects without reference to the truth.

Truth must be set up in the school and invited to prevail. It must operate in the form of disinterested, scientific history. It must be allowed to grapple with the current problems of economic, industrial, political, and social life, without fear or favor, subject to no restraint except that of its own inexorable law. Truth must be invited to bring living issues, controversial issues, into the school and to treat those issues freely, fully, and with reference only to the facts. And particularly must truth be employed in the reconstruction of the curriculum so that light may be thrown upon those coöperative and conciliatory relationships among nations which are becoming more influential day by day in the world at large. Truth must help to prepare the citizen of tomorrow for the decisions that he will be called upon to make with reference to policies set upon a world stage.

The narrowing, self-complacent, and at times vindictive, nationalism that has served the nations of the world in the past is inimical to the new spirit of the times. To be a good German, or a good Englishman, or a good American in the century to come will involve an equipment of attitudes that regard the native land as a coöperative unit in a world society seeking a higher destiny.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How have various nations used the schools as a means of social control?

2. What circumstances of international politics have tended to an emphasis on the creation of war-minded children in the schools? By what means of instruction has this policy been furthered? Show in detail how the various school subjects have lent themselves to the desired objectives.

3. What is meant by the statement that the effort to create militantly loyal and patriotic citizens was a project of the psychology of suggestion?

4. From your own school experience can you recognize any of the characteristics of the patriotic instruction which was described in some detail for Germany and France? In your history lessons? Your geography lessons? In any other features of school life?

5. What influences have caused increased emphasis to be laid on patriotic instruction in the schools of the United States during the last fifteen years?

6. Name the various agencies of instruction that are being consciously employed at present in the United States to engender patriotic attitudes among school children.

7. What conflict arises between the scientific writing of history and the intention of using history to create patriotic attitudes?

8. What arguments may be brought up to show that narrowly nationalistic instruction may defeat the larger ends of present-day citizenship?

9. What reasons are there for believing that false instruction regarding his nation's past may operate unfavorably with reference to the future citizen's attitude on current issues and his ability to deal with them intelligently?

10. In what respects would devotion to truth modify some of the propagandist methods which have been described in the foregoing chapter? In history? In geography? In economic and political theory?

11. Describe a method according to which controversial issues might be made the subject of study in the schools. What practical difficulties would be encountered?

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For a more extended treatment of the political and economic situation that was the setting of nationalistic instruction in France and Germany, see E. H. REISNER, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, pp. 196–199. A description of the ways and means of patriotic instruction will be found in the same volume, pp. 83–92 and 207–211.

A picture of the Prussian elementary schools as nurseries of patriotism is found in THOMAS ALEXANDER, *Prussian Elementary Schools*, pp. 392–400 and 429–436, Macmillan.

J. F. SCOTT, *Patriots in the Making*, Appleton, is devoted to a description of nationalistic aspects of the curriculum in France and Germany before the War.

For the more recent developments of patriotic instruction in the United States the reader will find useful BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States*, Alfred A. Knopf.

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